Periodical

PUBLIC LIBRARY
AUG 2 - 1934
DETROIT

AUGUST, 1934

THE CRISIS

FIFTEEN CENTS

COWARDS FROM THE COLLEGES

By Langston Hughes

A WAGE DIFFERENTIAL BASED ON RACE

By Robert C. Weaver

1934 COLLEGE GRADUATES

N.A.A.C.P. IN OKLAHOMA

CRISIS SCHOOL DIRECTORY

Howard University

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Chartered by Act of Congress March 2, 1867. Students from 40 states and 11 foreign countries.

8,718 graduates from all departments.

●

In addition to a modern University Plant, accredited courses leading to degrees in NINE SCHOOLS and COLLEGES including a GRADUATE SCHOOL, and an adequate and competent corps of teachers at HOWARD UNIVERSITY, the City of Washington affords unparalleled educational opportunities through the various branches of the Federal Government, museums, libraries, and the several Bureaus of the Government.

●

College of Liberal Arts: A.B., B.S., and B.S. in Commerce; A.B. in Education, B.S. in Education, B.S. in Art, and B.S. in Home Economics.
School of Engineering and Architecture: B.S. in Architecture, B.S. in Building Construction, B.S. in Civil Engineering, B.S. in Electrical Engineering, B.S. in Mechanical Engineering.
School of Music: Mus. B., B. in Public School Music.
Graduate School: M.A., and M.S.
School of Religion: B.Th., and B.D.
School of Law: LL.B.
College of Medicine: M.D.
College of Dentistry: D.D.S.
College of Pharmacy: Phar.C. and B.S. in Pharmacy.

●

First Semester Registration, September 24, 1934
Second Semester Registration, January 31, 1935

For Further Information Write

THE REGISTRAR
Howard University Washington, D. C.

R. R. Moton, Principal — W. H. Carter, Treasurer

Tuskegee Institute

Offers Specialized Training in Vocational and Industrial Courses

◆

B. S. Degree Courses in
Agriculture, Mechanical Arts
Domestic Science, Teacher Training and
Business Practice and Music

◆

High School Courses with 40 Trades for Boys and Girls

◆

Nurse Training School

◆

Opportunities for Self-Help

Address

A. J. Neely, Registrar, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama

MORGAN COLLEGE

(Co-educational)
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

Location—College town between North and South.

Courses—Majors in Biology, Chemistry, Education, English, French, History, Latin, Mathematics, Music, Social Science, subjects in other fields. A.B. and B.S. degrees.

Rating—Accredited by Middle States Association of Colleges, State Board Education in Md., other States, Regents of the University of N. Y., American Medical Association, University Senate of M. E. Church.

Site—Eighty-five acres, beautiful scenery, athletic fields.

Dramatic Art—Theoretical and practical courses for playwrights, directors, teachers, community, church and recreational workers.

For information address:

EDW. N. WILSON, Registrar

Efficient Stenographers!

You can be an efficient stenographer by taking a course in stenography and typing at

THE STENOGRAPHERS' INSTITUTE
1227 S. 17th Street Philadelphia, Pa.

Summer School: June 4 to August 24
EDWARD T. DUNCAN, *Principal*

CHARLES L. MAXEY, Jr. & CO.

PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS
CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL AND STUDIO
Accountancy, Mathematics, Business, Etc.

We specialize in opening, closing and auditing books of corporations as well as making income tax reports. We have a highly trained force of teachers and accountants to look after the interests of correspondence students.

85 West 118th St., New York City MOnument 2-3498

FISK UNIVERSITY

SUMMER QUARTER

JUNE 14 -- August 25

For further information,

Address The Director of
the Summer Quarter

FISK UNIVERSITY
Nashville • Tennessee

Rendall Hall

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY

Meeting in Cleveland, Ohio, May 30th last, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America adopted UNANIMOUSLY the following resolution:

"Deeply moved by the confusion and unrest in race relations within our American life today, we hereby reaffirm our historic position of absolute and unmistakable Christian brotherhood of the races, and our witness against color and race prejudice."

Lincoln University at Lincoln University, Pennsylvania, a cooperative enterprise for higher cultural and religious training is a practical evidence that this resolution means what it says.

The University opens its EIGHTIETH YEAR OF SERVICE, Tuesday, September 18, 1934.

For catalogues, application blanks, and complete information, please address

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY
Lincoln University at Lincoln University, Pennsylvania

THE Y. W. C. A. TRADE SCHOOL

Complete Courses Preparing for a Variety of Positions in

Secretarial or Business Occupations
Dressmaking and Other Dress Trades
Household Employment
Beauty Culture Trades
Garment Machine Operation Trades
Millinery, Art and Novelty Trades

Music School for Self-Improvement

Offered as full-time or part-time day or evening, or as short unit courses

EMPHASIS ON PLACEMENT

179 W. 137th Street New York, N. Y.
Bradhurst 2-1700

FRANK S. BUTLER

COMPOSER — CONDUCTOR

Eminent teacher of **Theory, Harmony, Composition, Orchestration, Ear Training, Sight Singing, Dictation.** Special 6-Weeks' Summer Course begins July 9. Circulars mailed.

158 West 74th St. New York City

Atlanta University

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

A GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES OFFERING WORK LEADING TO THE MASTER'S DEGREE

Class A Rating with the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States

FOR BULLETIN, ADDRESS

JOHN HOPE - - - - (PRESIDENT)

Wilberforce University

Established in 1856

Largest Negro Institution on Northern Soil

College of Liberal Arts, College of Education, School of Music, Theological Department, School of Industry, High School

High academic standards, strict moral and religious training, comfortable and commodious quarters, large beautiful campus, a faculty of 75, forty buildings with its own central Power, Water, Laundry and Automobile Plants. *An ideal place for education of Negro youth.* Only Ph.D.'s and M.A.'s on faculty of Liberal Arts.

Boys under supervision of Dean of Men and proctors; Girls under supervision of Dean of Women and matrons.

Tuition, $75.00 per year; Room, $60.00 per year; Board, $152.00 per year.

Write for Catalogue

R. R. WRIGHT, JR., Ph.D., *President*
Wilberforce University Wilberforce, Ohio.

N.B. $250.00 if paid in advance covers all school expenses for the year.

ALABAMA STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE

Teacher Training Courses Leading to B. S.

H. COUNCILL TRENHOLM, President

Montgomery Alabama

VOORHEES N. & I. SCHOOL

DENMARK, S. C.

(1) Junior College Course (2) High School Course of 16 units. (3) Three trades to young men, two to young women. (4) School has standard rating by the Southeastern Association of High Schools and Colleges.

Tuition and board reasonable. Excellent location. Co-educational; buildings modern, fire-proof. Full nine months term.

For information, write to—J. E. Blanton, Prin.
DENMARK, S. C.

THE Y. M. C. A.

your CLUB, your HOME

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA
Hunton Branch, 1618 Church St.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
3763 Wabash Avenue, *With dormitory*

State College for Colored Students

DOVER, DELAWARE

Offers Courses leading to the following Baccalaureate Degrees: Liberal Arts, Education, Home Economics, Agriculture, and Industrial Arts. The High School Offers Standard Courses, with Full Credit for College Entrance. Write for particulars or catalogue.

R. S. GROSSLEY, President

Fern Rock Camp

ON LAKE TIORATI

In the beautiful Palisades Interstate Park, less than 50 miles from New York City . . . Land and water sports . . . Trained counselors . . . Life guards . . . Dietitian . . . Registered nurse . . . Every precaution for the safety and health of the child . . . The ideal vacation spot for girls (over 8) and women.

Open July and August . . . . . Low rates.
Write for Booklet C.

Mrs. Ma Belle White Williams, Camp Director
West 137th St. Branch, Y. W. C. A.
179 West 137th St., New York, N.Y. BRadhurst 2-1700

DOWNINGTOWN INDUSTRIAL and AGRICULTURAL SCHOOL

DOWNINGTOWN, PA.

(Under the Supervision of the Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction.)

SPECIALIZES

In training good workers and good citizens and offers to boys and girls over eleven years of age

Healthy Climate Outside of City
Faculty of College-trained Teachers
Junior and Senior High School Courses
Properly Supervised Athletic and Social Recreation

For further information write

J. H. N. WARING, JR., Principal

THE ATLANTA SCHOOL of SOCIAL WORK

Good Paying Jobs for TRAINED NEGROES in Social Work

The Atlanta School of Social Work

Gives training in every branch of technical Social Work and in addition offers special preparation for the special problems which confront social workers in Negro Communities.

For Further Information Address the Director

Forrester B. Washington, A.M.
247 Henry St., Southwest
Atlanta, Georgia

Bennett College for Women

GREENSBORO, N. C.

A college where the Faculty and Trustees place foremost the needs of the individual student. Majors leading to the Bachelor of Arts degree in Elementary High School and Home Economic fields are offered. Minors may be taken in Dramatics, Music and Physical Education.

Dramatic organizations—Glee Clubs and Quartets, Basketball, Hockey, Archery, help to enrich the extra curriculum life of the student.

The fees are moderate for the service rendered. Because of this, Bennett has grown from a student body of 10 in 1926, to 225 in 1933-34—and has unusual approval.

Bennett is the college for young women of discriminating parents.

For further information address the president—

DAVID D. JONES
Bennett College for Women
Box A GREENSBORO, N. C.

The School of Engineering and Architecture

HOWARD UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D. C.
offers to
HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES
COLLEGE GRADUATES

Organized Courses Combining Arts, Sciences and Humanities With Professional Work, Designed to Meet the Requirements of Students, Leading to the Degrees of

BACHELOR OF SCIENCE
in
ARCHITECTURE
CIVIL ENGINEERING
ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING
MECHANICAL ENGINEERING

For Further Information Address

The Registrar, Howard University
Washington, D. C.

THE CRISIS

Founded 1910

REG. U. S. PAT. OFF

A Record of the Darker Races

Roy Wilkins
George W. Streator } *Managing Editors*

Volume 41, No. 8 *Whole No. 285*

CONTENTS FOR AUGUST, 1934

Page

COVER
Design by Prentiss Taylor.

FRONTISPIECE—Experience Meeting.
By Prentiss Taylor..... 225

COWARDS FROM THE COLLEGES
By Langston Hughes..... 226

THE N.A.A.C.P. MEETS IN OKLAHOMA
By Roy Wilkins..... 229

MOREHOUSE STUDENT WINS ESSAY PRIZE.. 230

WHAT GOOD ARE COLLEGE DRAMATICS
By Randolph Edmonds..... 232

JUSTICE, JUSTICE!
By Arnold C. DeMille..... 234

A WAGE DIFFERENTIAL BASED ON RACE
By Robert C. Weaver..... 236

"LITTLE MAN, WHAT NOW?"
A Cartoon by Romare Bearden..... 237

THE AMERICAN NEGRO IN COLLEGE, 1933-1934 239

THE BATTLE MUST GO ON
By Francis J. Grimke..... 240

NEGRO POLICE IN LOS ANGELES..... 242

DUBOIS AND SEGREGATION
By J. B. Watson..... 243

SEGREGATION
By Ferdinand Q. Morton..... 244

DR. DUBOIS RESIGNS
Text of his letter and resolution of acceptance.... 245

BROWSING READER 246

ALONG THE COLOR LINE..... 247

THE CRISIS *was founded in 1910. It is published monthly at 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., by Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The subscription price is $1.50 a year or 15c a copy. Foreign subscriptions $1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November 2, 1910, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879, and additional second class entry at Albany, N. Y.*

The contents of THE CRISIS *are copyrighted.*

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Langston Hughes is regarded as the foremost of the younger Negro writers. His latest book, a volume of short stores, THE WAYS OF WHITE FOLKS, was published in June. He is living in California following a year spent in Russia.

●

Robert C. Weaver is an assistant to Clark H. Foreman, adviser on Negro affairs in the Department of the Interior. He received his doctor of philosophy degree in economics from Harvard university in 1933.

●

Randolph Edmonds is teacher of dramatics at Morgan College, Baltimore, Maryland. He is the author of SIX PLAYS FOR A NEGRO THEATRE which has just been published.

●

J. B. Watson is president of the A.M.&N. Institute, Pine Bluff, Arkansas.

●

Ferdinand Q. Morton is one of the three civil service commissioners of the City of New York.

●

Arnold C. DeMille lives in New York City.

●

Roy Wilkins is assistant secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. and managing editor of THE CRISIS.

●

Reverend Francis J. Grimke is a retired Presbyterian minister of Washington, D. C., and was one of the signers of the original call in 1909 for the organization of the N.A.A.C.P.

FORECAST

The fall issues of THE CRISIS will contain an article by Charles H. Houston and John P. Davis on their observations while on an automobile tour through the levee construction camps in the Mississippi Delta region and the huge Tennessee Valley project, with special reference, of course, to the situation of Negro workers on these projects.

●

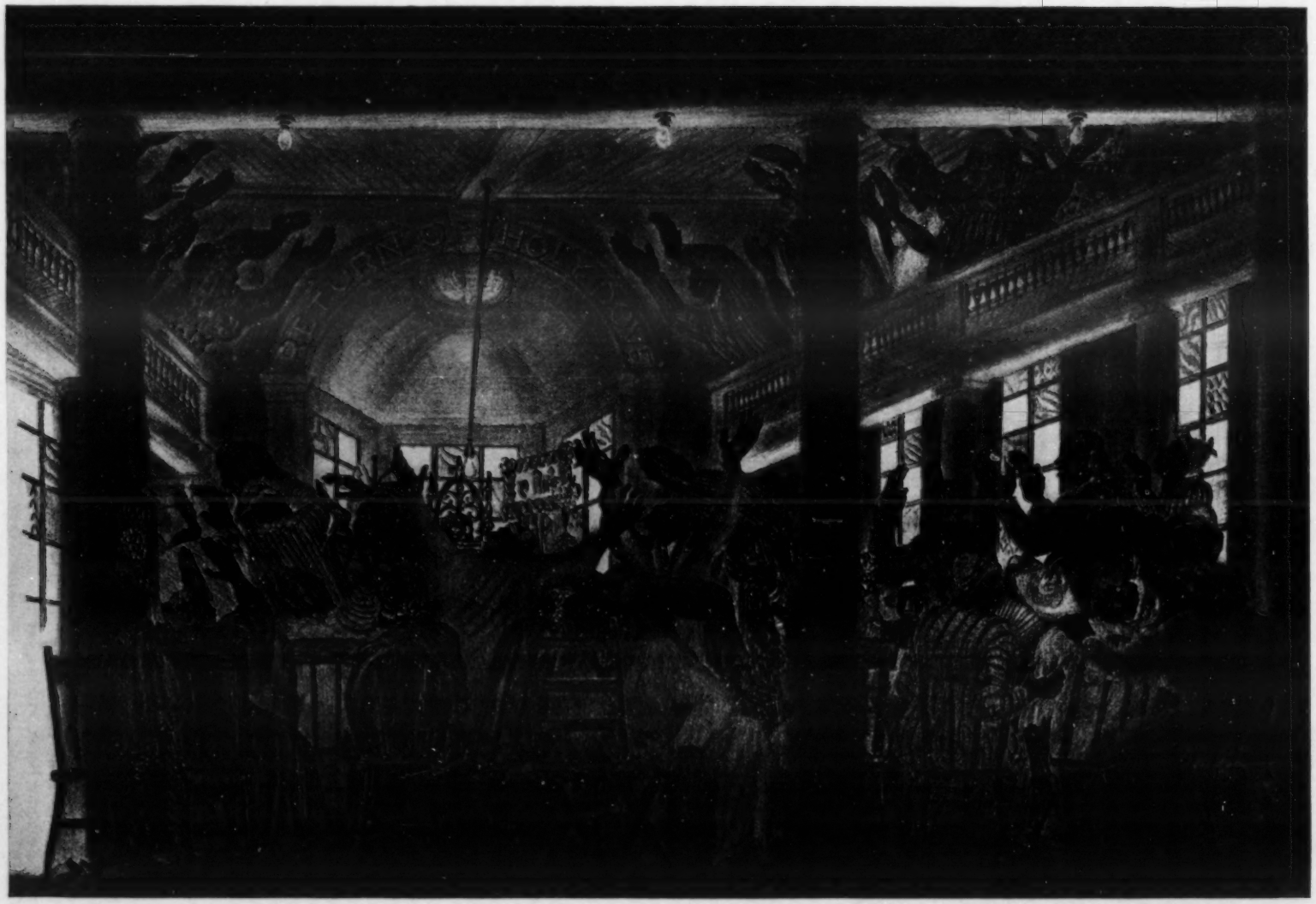
In the September issue there will be the prize winning essay in the N.A.A.C.P. college contest, entitled: DOES THE WHITE OR NEGRO COLLEGE PREPARE THE YOUNG NEGRO BEST FOR LIFE? The author-winner is William H. McClendon, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga.

●

It is hoped that a discussion of the boycott as a means of improving the economic condition of the race will be in an early fall number.

●

In addition there will be poetry, book reviews, short fiction and articles, news of the N.A.A.C.P., and comment on the issues of the day as they affect colored Americans.



Prentiss Taylor, May, 1934

EXPERIENCE MEETING, MASSYDONY, CHARLESTON, S. C.

Cowards from the Colleges

By LANGSTON HUGHES

Does the Negro college have a special duty to perform in the struggle along the Color Line? Langston Hughes says YES. "For unless we develop more and ever more such young men and women on our campuses as an antidote to the docile dignity of the meek professors and well-paid presidents who now run our institutions, American Negroes in the future had best look to the unlettered for their leaders, and expect only cowards from the colleges."

"Let no one who reads this article write me a letter demanding, 'But why didn't you bring out some of the good points?' For the express purpose and intention of this article is to bring out the bad points—some of the bad points—in many of our centers of Negro education today."

TWO YEARS ago, on a lecture tour, I visited more than fifty colored schools and colleges from Morgan College in Baltimore to Prairie View in Texas. Everywhere I was received with the greatest kindness and hospitality by both students and faculties. In many ways, my nine months on tour were among the pleasantest travel months I have ever known. I made many friends, and this article is in no way meant as a disparagement of the courtesies and hospitality of these genial people—who, nevertheless, uphold many of the existing evils which I am about to mention, and whose very geniality is often a disarming cloak for some of the most amazingly old-fashioned moral and pedagogical concepts surviving on this continent.

At every school I visited I would be shown about the grounds, and taken to view the new auditorium or the modern domestic science hall or the latest litter of pigs born. If I took this tour with the principal or some of the older teachers, I would often learn how well the school was getting on in spite of the depression, and how pleasant relationships were with the white Southerners in the community. But if I went walking with a younger teacher or with students, I would usually hear reports of the institution's life and ways that were far from happy.

For years those of us who have read the Negro papers or who have had friends teaching in our schools and colleges, have been pretty well aware of the lack of personal freedom that exists on most Negro campuses. But the extent to which this lack of freedom can go never really came home to me until I saw and experienced myself some of the astounding restrictions existing at many colored educational institutions.

To set foot on dozens of Negro campuses is like going back to mid-Victorian England, or Massachusetts in the days of the witch-burning Puritans. To give examples, let us take the little things first. On some campuses grown-up college men and women are not allowed to smoke, thus you have the amusing spectacle of twenty-four year old men sneaking around to the back doors of dormitories like little boys to take a drag on a forbidden cigarette. At some schools, simple card playing is a wicked abomination leading to dismissal for a student—even though many students come from homes where whist and bridge are common amusements. At a number of schools, dancing on the campus for either faculty or students is absolutely forbidden. And going to dancing parties off campus is frequently frowned upon. At one school for young ladies in North Carolina, I came across an amusing rule which allowed the girls to dance with each other once or twice a week, but permitted no young men at their frolics. At some schools marching in couples is allowed instead of dancing. Why this absurd ban on ballroom dancing exists at colored schools, I could never find out—doubly absurd in this day and age when every public high school has its dances and "proms," and the very air is full of jazz, North and South, in inescapable radio waves.

One of the objects in not permitting dancing, I divined, seems to be to keep the sexes separated. And in our Negro schools the technique for achieving this —boys not walking with girls, young men not calling on young ladies, the two sexes sitting aisles apart in chapel if the institution is co-educational—in this technique Negro schools rival monasteries and nunneries in their strictness. They act as though it were unnatural for a boy and girl to ever want to walk or talk together. The high points of absurdity during my tour were campuses where young men and women meeting in broad daylight in the middle of the grounds might only speak to one another, not stand still to converse lest they break a rule; and a college in Mississippi, Alcorn,—where to evening lectures grown-up students march like school kids in and out of the hall. When I had finished my lecture at Alcorn, the chairman tapped a bell and commanded, "Young ladies with escorts now pass." And those few girls fortunate enough to receive permission to come with a boy rose and made their exit. Again the bell tapped and the chairman said, "Unescorted young ladies now pass." And in their turn the female section rose and passed. Again the bell tapped. "Young men now pass." I waited to hear the bell again and the chairman saying, "Teachers may leave." But apparently most of the teachers had already left, chaperoning their grown-up charges back to the dormitories. Such regimentation as practiced in this college was long ago done away with, even in many grammar schools of the North.

Apparently the official taboo on male and female companionship extends even to married women teachers who attend summer seminars in the South, and over whom the faculty extends a prying but protective arm. The wife of a prominent educator in the South told me of being at Hampton for one of their summer sessions a few years ago. One night her husband called up long distance just to hear his wife's voice over the phone. Before she was permitted to go to the phone and talk to a MAN at night, however, she had to receive a special permit from, I believe, the dean of women, who had to be absolutely assured that it really was her husband calling. The long distance phone costs mounted steadily while the husband waited but Hampton did its part in keeping the sexes from communicating. Such interference with nature is a major aim on many of our campuses.

Accompanying this mid-Victorian attitude in manners and morals, at many Southern schools there is a great deal of official emphasis placed on heavy religious exercises, usually compulsory, with required daily chapels, weekly prayer meetings, and Sunday services. Such a stream of dull and stupid sermons, uninspired prayers, and monotonous hymns — neither intellectually worthy of adult minds nor emotionally existing in the manner of the old time shouts—pour into students' ears that it is a wonder any young people ever go to church again once they leave college. The placid cant and outworn phrases of many of the churchmen daring to address student groups today makes me wonder why their audiences

are not bored to death. I did observe many young people going to sleep.

But there are charges of a far more serious nature to bring against Negro schools than merely that of frowning on jazz in favor of hymns, or their horror of friendly communication between boys and girls on the campuses. To combine these charges very simply: Many of our institutions apparently are not trying to make men and women of their students at all—they are doing their best to produce spineless Uncle Toms, uninformed, and full of mental and moral evasions.

I was amazed to find at many Negro schools and colleges a year after the arrest and conviction of the Scottsboro boys, that a great many teachers and students knew nothing of it, or if they did the official attitude would be, "Why bring that up?" I asked at Tuskegee, only a few hours from Scottsboro, who from there had been to the trial. Not a soul had been, so far as I could discover. And with demonstrations in every capital in the civilized world for the freedom of the Scottsboro boys, so far as I know not one Alabama Negro school until now has held even a protest meeting. (And in Alabama, we have the largest colored school in the world, Tuskegee, and one of our best colleges, Talladega.)

But speaking of protest meetings—this was my experience at Hampton. I lectured there the week-end that Juliette Derricotte was killed. She had been injured in an automobile wreck on her way home from Fisk University where she was dean of women, and the white Georgia hospitals would not take her in for treatment, so she died. That same week-end, a young Hampton graduate, the coach of Alabama's A.&M. Institute at Normal was beaten to death by a mob in Birmingham on his way to see his own team play. Many of the Hampton students and teachers knew Juliette Derricotte, and almost all of them knew the young coach, their recent graduate. The two happenings sent a wave of sorrow and of anger over the campus where I was a visitor. Two double tragedies of color on one day—and most affecting to students and teachers because the victims were "of their own class," one a distinguished and widely-travelled young woman, the other a popular college graduate and athlete.

A note came to me from a group of Senior students asking would I meet with a student committee. When a young man came to take me to the meeting, he told me that it would concern Juliette Derricotte and their own dead alumnus. He said that the students wanted to plan a protest on the campus against the white brutality that had brought about their death.

I was deeply touched that they had called me in to help them, and we began to lay plans for the organization of a Sunday evening protest meeting, from which we would send wires to the press and formulate a memorial to these most recent victims of race hate. They asked me would I speak at this meeting and I agreed. Students were chosen to approach the faculty for permission to use the chapel. We were to consult again for final plans in the evening.

At the evening committee meeting the faculty had sent their representative, Major Brown, a Negro (who is, I believe, the dean of men), to confer with the students. Major Brown began by saying that perhaps the reports we had received of the manner of these two deaths had not been true. Had we verified those reports?

I suggested wiring or telephoning immediately to Fisk and to Birmingham for verification. The Major did not think that wise. He felt it was better to write. Furthermore, he went on, Hampton did not like the word "protest." That was not Hampton's way. He, and Hampton, believed in moving slowly and quietly, and with dignity.

On and on he talked. When he had finished, the students knew quite clearly that they could not go ahead with their protest meeting. (The faculty had put up its wall.) They knew they would face expulsion and loss of credits if they did so. The result was that the Hampton students held no meeting of protest over the mob-death of their own alumnus, nor the death on the road (in a Negro ambulance vainly trying to reach a black hospital) of one of the race's finest young women. The brave and manly spirit of that little group of Hampton students who wanted to organize the protest was crushed by the official voice of Hampton speaking through its Negro Major Brown.

More recently, I see in our papers where Fisk University, that great (?) center of Negro education and of Jubilee fame has expelled Ishmael Flory, a graduate student from California on a special honor scholarship, because he dared organize a protest against the University singers appearing in a Nashville Jim-crow theatre where colored people must go up a back alley to sit in the gallery. Probably also the University resented his organizing, through the Denmark Vesey Forum, a silent protest parade denouncing the lynching of Cordie Cheek who was abducted almost at the very gates of the University.

Another recent news item tells how President Gandy of Virginia State College for Negroes called out the cracker police of the town to keep his own students from voicing their protest as to campus conditions. Rather than listen to just grievances, a Negro president of a large college sends for prejudiced white policemen to break his students heads, if necessary.

And last year, we had the amazing report from Tuskegee of the school hospital turning over to the police one of the wounded Negroes shot at Camp Hill by white lynchers because the share-croppers have the temerity to wish to form a union—and the whites wish no Negro unions in Alabama. Without protest, the greatest Negro school in the world gives up a poor black, bullet-riddled share-cropper to white officers. And awhile later Tuskegee's president, Dr. Moton, announces himself in favor of lower wages for Negroes under the N.R.A., and Claude Barnett, one of his trustees, voices his approval of the proposed code differentials on the basis of color.

But then, I remember that it is Tuskegee that maintains a guest house on its campus for *whites only!* It also maintains a library that censors all books on race problems and economics to see that no volumes "too radical" get to the students. And during my stay there several young teachers whispered to me that a local white trustee of the school receives his Negro visitors only on the porch, not in his house. It is thus that our wealthiest Negro school with its two thousand six hundred students expects to turn out men and women!

Where then would one educate "Uncle Toms?"

Freedom of expression for teachers in most Negro schools, even on such unimportant matters as to rouge or not to rouge, smoke or not smoke, is more or less unknown. Old and mossbacked presidents, orthodox ministers or missionary principals, control all too often what may or may not be taught in the class rooms or said in campus conversation. Varied examples of suppression at the campuses I visited are too numerous to mention in full in a short article, but they range all the way from an Alabama secondary school that permitted no Negro weeklies like the *Chicago Defender* or the *Pittsburgh Courier* in its library because they were "radical", to the great university of Fisk at Nashville where I asked a nationally known Negro professor and author of several books in his field what his attitude toward communism was, and received as an answer, "When I discuss communism on this campus, I will have a letter first from the president and the board of trustees."

There is at the Negro schools in the South, even the very well-endowed and famous ones that I have mentioned, an amazing acquiescence to the wishes of the local whites and to the traditions of the Southern color-line. When pro-

grams are given, many schools set aside whole sections in their own auditoriums for the exclusive use of whites. Often the best seats are given them, to the exclusion of Negro visitors. (But to insert into this article a good note, Mary McLeod Bethune, however, permits no such goings-on at Bethune-Cookman Institute in Daytona, one of the few campuses where I lectured that had not made "special provisions" for local white folks. A great many whites were in the audience but they sat among the Negroes.)

Even where there is no official campus segregation (such as Tuskegee's white guest house, or Hampton's hospital where local whites are given separate service) both teachers and students of Negro colleges accept so sweetly the customary Jim-crowing of the South that one feels sure the race's emancipation will never come through its intellectuals. In North Carolina, I was given a letter to the state superintendent of the Negro schools, a white man, Mr. N. C. Newbold. When I went to his office in Raleigh to present my letter, I encountered in his outer office a white woman secretary busy near the window quite a distance from the door. She gave me a casual glance and went on with what she was doing. Then some white people came into the office. Immediately she dropped her work near the window and came over to them, spoke to them most pleasantly, and ignored me entirely. The white people, after several minutes of how-are-you's and did-you-enjoy-yo'self-at-the-outing-last-week, said that they wished to see Mr. Newbold. Whereupon, having arrived first and having not yet been noticed by the secretary, I turned and walked out.

When I told some Negro teachers of the incident, they said, "But Mr. Newbold's not like that."

"Why, then," I asked, "does he have that kind of secretary?"

Nobody seemed to know. And why had none of the Negro teachers who call at his office ever done anything about such discourteous secretaries? No one knew that either.

But why (to come nearer home) did a large number of the students at my own Lincoln University, when I made a campus survey there in 1929, declare that they were opposed to having teachers of their own race on the faculty? And why did they then (and probably still do) allow themselves to be segregated in the little moving picture theatre in the nearby village of Oxford, when there is no Jim-crow law in Pennsylvania—and they are some four hundred strong? And why did a whole Lincoln University basketball team and their coach walk dociley out of a cafe in Philadelphia that refused to serve them because of color? One of the players explained later, "The coach didn't want to make a fuss."

Yet Lincoln's motto is to turn out leaders! But can there be leaders who don't want to make a fuss?

And can it be that our Negro educational institutions are not really interested in turning out leaders at all? Can it be that they are far more interested in their endowments and their income and their salaries than in their students?

And can it be that these endowments, incomes, gifts—and therefore salaries—springing from missionary and philanthropic sources and from big Northern boards and foundations—have such strings tied to them that those accepting them can do little else (if they wish to live easy) but bow down to the white powers that control this philanthropy and continue, to the best of their ability, to turn out "Uncle Toms?"

A famous Lincoln alumnus, having read my undergraduate survey of certain deplorable conditions on our campus, said to me when I graduated there, "Your facts are fine! Fine! Fine! But listen, son, you mustn't say everything you think to white folks."

"But this is the truth," I said.

"I know, but suppose," continued the old grad patronizingly, in his best fatherly manner, "suppose I had always told the truth to white folks? Could I have built up that great center for the race that I now head in my city? Where would I have gotten the money for it, son?"

The great center of which he spoke is a Jim-crow center, but he was very proud of having built it.

To me it seems that the day must come when we will not be proud of our Jim-crow centers built on the money docile and lying beggars have kidded white people into contributing. The day must come when we will not say that a college is a great college because it has a few beautiful buildings, and a half dozen Ph. D.'s on a faculty that is afraid to open its mouth though a lynching occurs at the college gates, or the wages of Negro workers in the community go down to zero!

Frankly, I see no hope for a new spirit today in the majority of the Negro schools of the South unless the students themselves put it there. Although there exists on all campuses, a distinct cleavage between the younger and older members of the faculties, almost everywhere the younger teachers, knowing well the existing evils, are as yet too afraid of their jobs to speak out, or to dare attempt to reform campus conditions. They content themselves by writing home to mama and by whispering to sympathetic visitors from a distance how they hate teaching under such conditions.

Meanwhile, more power to those brave and progressive students who strike against mid-Victorian morals and the suppression of free thought and action! More power to the Ishmael Florys, and the Denmark Vesey Forum, and the Howard undergraduates who picket the Senate's Jim-crow dining rooms—for unless we develop more and ever more such young men and women on our campuses as an antidote to the docile dignity of the meek professors and well-paid presidents who now run our institutions, American Negroes in the future had best look to the unlettered for their leaders, and expect only cowards from the colleges.

A section of the October number will be devoted to children. Pictures and material for this section must be in THE CRISIS office on or before September 1.

●

The September number will have an article by Wayland Rudd, who has returned from two years spent in the Russian theatre, telling of his experiences there. Mr. Rudd will sail, however, before the article appears, returning to the land of the Soviets.

●

Also in the September number will be an article by Walter White on "The Changing Front."

The N. A. A. C. P. Meets in Oklahoma

By ROY WILKINS

FOR many years there has been a feeling that annual conferences of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People ought not to go into the South because of the possibility of the speakers and delegates not being able to express themselves freely on matters affecting colored people and because the traditional procedure of the N.A.A.C.P. in mixing its delegates and speakers in assemblies and social affairs would not be possible in southern communities.

An experiment was made in 1920 by holding the conference in Atlanta, Ga. The gathering was a successful one, but there was a noticeable tenseness, an attitude of strain, throughout the sessions.

And so it was with some misgivings that the 1934 annual meeting moved into Oklahoma City. There was no question about the attitude of colored Oklahomans, but there was some question about the attitude of the community in general. The apprehensions melted even before the opening session June 27 because of the generous and detailed advance publicity in the daily papers.

CITY OFFICIAL BECOMES A MEMBER

Following the welcoming addresses of W. E. McMurray, president of the Oklahoma City branch, and W. G. Sneed, the delegates were greeted by Eugene Maple, assistant city manager, who departed from the usual welcome speeches to say that the colored citizens of Oklahoma City had made progress despite the handicaps placed in their path by the whites. He referred specifically to the various attempts to pass and enforce segregation ordinances and welcomed the coming of the N.A.A.C.P. with its program of equality and justice, assuring the conference that there was an increasing tendency toward liberality among white citizens. He closed by taking out a membership in the association.

Miss Ovington acknowledged the welcomes and delved into the history of the association. She recalled that in the beginning the membership was almost equally divided between the races, whereas today the ratio is about ten colored to one white. She urged colored people to carry on definite efforts in every community to enlist the active membership and support of whites.

Dean Charles H. Houston of Washington, in his keynote address, urged alliance with the "poor whites" of the South, no matter how difficult the task might seem to be. He said the Negro's position could not be improved permanently until the "poor whites" had been converted to the doctrine that the separation of the two races was impeding the progress of both.

Thursday was devoted to discussions of various phases of law enforcement, with A. T. Walden of Atlanta, Ga., presiding in the morning and Irvin C. Mollison of Chicago in the chair in the afternoon. L. W. Washington of El Paso, Tex., told of the three famous Texas white primary cases won by the association; Oscar Ameringer, editor of the American Guardian and noted liberal, spoke on the economic phases of the race problem; and O. B. Cobb, president of the Bryn Mawr, Pa., branch, told of the dramatic, two-year, victorious fight of the branch against the jim crow township school set up in the fall of 1932 at Berwyn, Pa. Colored parents kept more than 200 children out of school from September, 1932, until April 30, 1934, when they were finally admitted to the school with their white comrades from whom they had been parted in June, 1932. In the afternoon Walter White outlined the campaign for the passage of the Costigan-Wagner bill and pledged continued effort in the next congress, while Dean Houston sketched in detail the procedure to be followed in each community to see that Negroes are called for jury service.

NEW DEAL AN OLD DEAL

Two views of the New Deal government were given at the Thursday night mass meeting when Oscar L. Chapman, assistant secretary of the interior, and John P. Davis, secretary of the Joint Committee on National Recovery, spoke. Mr. Chapman touched upon the difficulties confronting the new administration in its efforts to put in force a government for all the people and assured the audience the administration was friendly and sympathetic and wished to have the co-operation, support and critical advice of colored Americans.

Mr. Davis dwelt at length upon the inequalities foisted upon the Negro industrial and agricultural workers by the NRA and the AAA programs. He charged the New Deal with failure to aid the colored worker and asserted the Negro farm owner, sharecropper, tenant farmer and casual laborer were all worse off than they were before.

The speaker lashed at the loopholes and trick clauses in the NRA codes which permitted lower wages to be paid Negroes and stated the South would never have real recovery as long as it prevented Negroes from becoming good consumers by denying them wages with which to buy.

Mrs. Ada Wright, mother of two of the Scottsboro defendants, spoke also Thursday night, telling of the long fight in the world famous case. Louis L. Redding, Wilmington, Delaware, presided.

SPINGARN MEDAL AWARDED

Friday was given over largely to discussion of the association itself, its present structure and methods of procedure, and to a consideration of certain possible changes in structure. Miss Ovington, B. J. Stanley of Baton Rouge, La., and M. S. Stuart of Memphis, Tenn. suggested methods of increasing the work in the South. Homer S. Brown of Pittsburgh, Pa. presented the report of the committee appointed in Chicago last year on methods of nominating and electing members of the board of directors. William Pickens spoke briefly upon state conference work. Mr. Davis conducted a round table in the afternoon on the NRA codes. Roscoe Dunjee, Oklahoma City, presided in the morning and C. A. Hansberry, Chicago, in the afternoon.

In the evening the twentieth Spingarn medal was presented to Dean W. T. B. Williams of the college at Tuskegee Institute, for his work in the field of education. Dean Pickens, who presided, made general introductory remarks on the significance of the medal and the presentation speech was made by the Rev. J. Raymond Henderson, pastor of the Wheat Street Baptist church, Atlanta, Ga. In his acceptance address, Dean Williams recounted the progress in education in the South.

Reports on work of the branches occupied the last business session Saturday morning with Mrs. Josephine Dibble Murphy of Atlanta, Ga. presiding. Discussion leaders were Mrs. M. L. Danforth, Springfield, Mo., Miss Mary L. Sweed, Zanesville, O., Mrs. Laura J. Ayers, Wilmington, Del., and R. J. Reynolds, Topeka, Kans. Rep. O. K. Armstrong Springfield, Mo., a member of the Missouri state legislature, spoke on how the states might strengthen their action against mobs and Antoine Fuhr, Muskogee, Okla., outlined briefly the situation of the small farmer.

USE OF BALLOT URGED

The Saturday night audience heard Miss Juanita E. Jackson of Baltimore, Md. speak on the task of Negro youth

in the fight for the rights of the race. Roscoe Dunjee, militant editor of the *Black Dispatch*, told the dramatic story of the Jess Hollins case, now being carried on by the Oklahoma state conference of branches. Jess Larson, ex-mayor of Chickasha, Okla., who has been a member of the N.A.A.C.P. for five years, dropped his campaign for congress for the evening and made a heart-to-heart speech on the interracial problems of city officials in the South. Mr. Larson identified himself completely with the association and its conference, referring to it as "our association", and declared he hoped to see the day when, under its auspices, colored and white people all over the South would be working together for justice and mutual self-respect. Mayor C. P. Young of Boley, Okla., presided.

Sunday morning seven white churches and nine colored churches invited speakers from the conference to occupy their pulpits and Sunday afternoon the closing mass meeting, held in the First Presbyterian church (white) was broadcast over radio station WKY. Congressman Oscar DePriest read from the record the votes of Oklahoma congressmen on his resolution in the house restaurant fight and urged colored voters to qualify, register and vote as the best means of securing their rights.

Walter White reported on the year's work and declared unending warfare upon segregation and lynching, saying the fight for a federal anti-lynching bill would be pressed without pause in the next congress. The N.A.A.C.P. merit medal for the outstanding work done during the year in the association was presented to O. B. Cobb, of the Bryn Mawr, Pa. branch, by Roy Wilkins, for his work in the Berwyn school case. Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, Pittsburgh, Pa., presided.

ST. LOUIS IN 1935

Space limitations will not permit touching upon every individual who aided in the staging and entertainment of the conference. The entire Oklahoma City branch co-operated closely and every committee functioned in its proper place. Mention must be made, however, of the musical programs, which, for the first time, were all under the direction of one person, Mrs. Zelia N. Breaux, who assembled choruses, orchestras, bands and soloists whose offerings delighted the audiences.

The daily and weekly press was generous in handling news of the conference. The *Daily Oklahoman*, The *Oklahoma City Times* and The Oklahoma *News* all reported the sessions in detail and carried advance news five days before the conference convened. The *Black Dispatch* reported the sessions in great detail, including pictures. Station WKY, owned by the *Daily Oklahoman* originally promised 45 minutes of broadcasting time Sunday afternoon, but gave one hour and a half.

The address to the country, which will be printed in more detail in the next issue of THE CRISIS, asked a congressional investigation of the treatment of Negroes under the NRA and a probe by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration of the treatment of Negro farm workers. A federal anti-lynching law was asked of the next congress and segregation unequivocally condemned. Unemployment insurance, old age pensions and the child labor amendment were endorsed.

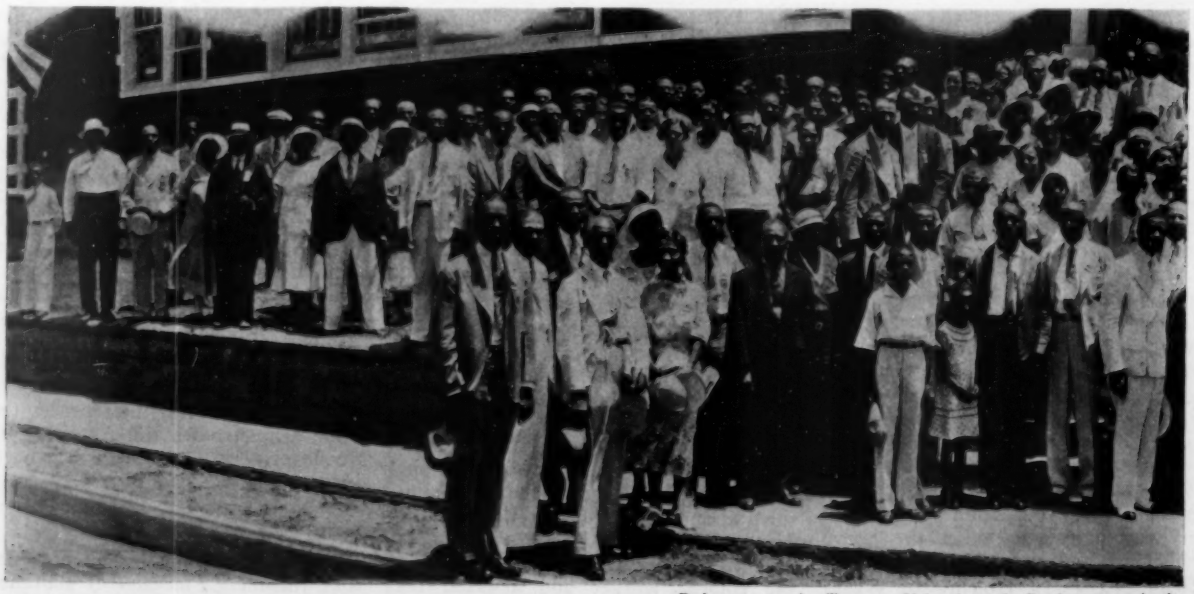
St. Louis will be host to the 1935 conference.

Morehouse Student Wins College Essay Prize

William H. McClendon of Morehouse college, Atlanta, Ga. won the first prize of $25 in the college essay contest conducted this spring by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. His subject was "'Does the White or Negro College Prepare the Young Negro Better for Life?"

Second prize of $15 in the college group went to Raymond J. Weir of the Miner Teachers' college, Washington, D. C., who used the same subject. The $10 third prize went to Clarence H. King of the San Diego, Calif. State college writing on "The N.A.A.C.P. and the Youth." Those winning honorable mention: Ora Mae Nance, Southern University, Scotlandville, La.; Chester A. Bland, Miner Teachers' college; and George A. Wade, also Miner Teachers' college.

First prize in the high school division was a tie between Josephine Mildred Buster, Sumner junior college, Kansas City, Kans. and Marian M. Singleton, Sumner high school, Kansas City, Kans. and the judges lumped the first and second prizes together and divided the amount, giving each contestant $20. Third prize of $10 went to Hettie B. Clanton, Berean high school, Philadelphia. Miss Buster wrote



Delegates to the Twenty-fifth Annual Conference of the

on "Does the White or Negro College Prepare the Young Negro Better for Life?" Miss Singleton on "A Review of the Sweet Case"; and Miss Clanton on the Sweet case.

Fifteen dollars in extra prizes donated by southern white friends of the N.A.A.C.P. were awarded ($5 each) to: Henry George Washington, Randolph county training school, Cuthbert, Ga.; Beatrice Harris, Atlanta university laboratory school; and John Robert Hooker, of the Charles Perry high school, Magnolia, N. C.

The prizes were donated by Mrs. Amy E. Spingarn, Mrs. Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Robert L. Vann, Richard B. Harrison, Mrs. Sadie Warren-Davis, and James Weldon Johnson.

Persistent Quest

By C. FAYE BENNETT

THE trail of quest leads through a winding street
Where many bold and transient pilgrims tread
In search of life; a rosy-blossomed bed,
Some pinnacle of faith, a sure retreat
When wild waves roar close to their tramping feet.
And often by some dream of pleasure led
Like sheep astray, they leave the page unread
That promises a jeweled soul complete.

And having missed the contents of that page,
They murmur restlessly, like children in
The dark, fretfully crying for a light.
Some find it ere they leave life's passing stage
And mark the trail where sanctities begin.
Thus spreads the dawn that follows every night.

Flag Salute

By ESTHER POPEL

(NOTE: In a classroom in a Negro school a pupil gave as his news topic during the opening exercises of the morning, a report of the Princess Anne lynching of Oct. 18, 1933. A brief discussion of the facts of the case followed, after which the student in charge gave this direction: Pupils, rise, and give the flag salute! They did so without hesitation!)

"I pledge allegiance to the flag"—
They dragged him naked
Through the muddy streets,
A feeble-minded black boy!
And the charge? Supposed assault
Upon an aged woman!
"Of the United States of America"—
One mile they dragged him
Like a sack of meal,
A rope around his neck,
A bloody ear
Left dangling by the patriotic hand
Of Nordic youth! (A boy of seventeen!)
"And to the Republic for which it stands"—
And then they hanged his body to a tree,
Below the window of the county judge
Whose pleadings for that battered human flesh
Were stifled by the brutish, raucous howls
Of men, and boys, and women with their babes,
Brought out to see the bloody spectacle
Of murder in the style of '33!
(Three thousand strong, they were!)
"One Nation, Indivisible"—
To make the tale complete
They built a fire—
What matters that the stuff they burned
Was flesh—and bone—and hair—
And reeking gasoline!
"With Liberty—and Justice"—
They cut the rope in bits
And passed them out,
For souvenirs, among the men and boys!
The teeth no doubt, on golden chains
Will hang
About the favored necks of sweethearts, wives,
And daughters, mothers, sisters, babies, too!
"For ALL!"

N.A.A.C.P. in Oklahoma City, Okla., June 27—July 1, 1934 —*Photo by That Man Stone*

What Good are College Dramatics

By RANDOLPH EDMONDS

DURING the last few years there has come about a dramatic awakening in our Negro schools and colleges. It is too early yet to pronounce with Olympian finality what the outcome will be, but the results so far lead me to believe that the university theatre, the general term which is sometimes used for all school theatres, is pregnant with more real promise for the development of the Negro Theatre than any other organization that has undertaken the task. This is not a casual statement, either, for I have labored ten years in our Little Theatres, have seen most of the important productions of Negro plays, read dozens of scripts, and talked to many of the future playwrights and workers.

When one speaks of developing something, he realizes that this must lead towards some end. This end must be thoroughly understood before there can be any intelligent discussion of the subject. It seems to me that the ultimate goals of the Negro Theatre should be to produce worthwhile plays, to train workers in the crafts, to train playwrights, to train teachers, and to train our audiences in the importance, beauty, and significance of the drama.

Let us digress from the college theatre for a moment and look at some of the other organizations that have functioned in this field. The one that comes most readily to mind is the professional stage. Many critics have pointed with pride to the tremendous success of "Emperor Jones," "Lulu Belle," "Porgy," "In Abraham's Bosom," "The Green Pastures," and others. In one sense they cannot be said to develop the Negro Theatre despite their success, because they are not really indigenous. Negroes did not write, produce, nor direct these plays. In other words, all that the Negroes did was to portray characters conceived and produced by another racial group.

The real drama of a people must root itself in their life, reveal their psychology, and to a great extent receive their support. The professional theatre hasn't done this to any considerable extent with Negroes. Then, too, this organization is too unstable to really train writers, actors, and workers. This is proved by the fact that many of the actors and actresses who had leading parts in some of the productions, have not had a part in a play since. In other words, there is too much worship of The Great God Gold to do the experimentation necessary for the task under discussion.

In like manner, there have been many attempts to make the Little Theatre Movement flourish among us, the most notable being The Krigwa Movement started by Dr. Du Bois several years ago. Others have been attempted, and still others are in the process. I have myself seen many of these groups start off with a lot of fanfaronade, trumpets and idealism. After the first few productions, however, it was discovered that clubs, bridge parties, and dances are really much more important to the members than the "grand, divine, eternal drama."

The net result of the many Little Theatre attempts, despite the ballyhoo that has come from a few spasmodic productions, is very discouraging, indeed. The Gilpin Players in Cleveland constitute the only group that can show a consistent and considerable schedule of production over a period of years. If we are to judge the future by the past, it is highly unlikely that the superficial part time interest of a few professional people and intelligentsia will submit to the stern discipline necessary to really accomplish something worthwhile in the drama.

The next type of organization that has functioned somewhat efficiently in the group is the community dramatic organization. The only one that I know that is really functioning from year to year with any great success is The Dramatic Department of The Division of Recreation of The Department of Education in Baltimore. There are some thirty or forty groups connected with this department which is city wide in scope. These groups range from tiny tots to grown ups. Its efficient directress is Mrs. Alice D. Crawford.

This type of organization contains the same possibilities that are inherent in the standard little theatre. In practice, however, the same things happen. The kids are really more seriously interested in doing things well than the adult clubs. Since this organization is largely sociological in nature, depending more upon numbers than artistic finish, the grown ups are more interested in the recreational side than any other.

And so we come to the college theatre. The set up of this organization is familiar to all. There is the college dramatic club with a faculty member, usually the Professor of English, as the director. The earlier conception of the function of this club was to give a very amateurish performance of one of the plays of Shakespeare, or some other classical or semi-classical play.

There is a new conception about the college theatre today, thanks to the

MORGAN COLLEGE PLAYERS
Anne Mercer, James Brown, Beulah Edmonds

pioneering work of Professor George Pierce Baker and his 47 Workshop and Yale School of Drama, Professor Frederick H. Koch and his Carolina Playmakers, and others. There is a combination of theory and practice in the theatre arts. Courses in the arts and crafts are given. Playwrights and actors are developed, and laboratories are used for their instruction. In short the modern club retains the classical idea, but adds to that a well rounded program of creative dramatics.

One thing to be noticed about the college set up is that it is more permanent. A few members graduate from the organization each year, but others are left to carry on. The director is changed occasionally, but the new one fits into the breach and takes up where he leaves off. There is very seldom the breaking up and starting anew that one finds in the other Little Theatres.

With a combination of the classroom, laboratory, and theatre, the college organizations are much better able to advance towards the five goals enumerated above.

Let us be more concrete, however, and get back to the development of our racial drama. The Negro colleges of the country have at last awakened to their great responsibility in developing the drama of our life. The first attempts of the colleges were largely individualistic enterprises, the most significant being the experiments of Professors Alain Locke and Montgomery Gregory at Howard University in the early twenties. Some very significant work was accomplished, but unfortunately the movement died when Professor Gregory left to take up duties in Atlantic City. In fact the individualistic programs of all the colleges did not get very far in the development of a Negro Theatre.

The date of March 7, 1930, will, in all probability, go down as a very significant date in our theatric history. On that date a new approach to the problem began. It was the intercollegiate method. Representatives from Howard, Morgan, Hampton, Virginia State, and Virginia Union met on the campus at Morgan College and formed The Negro Intercollegiate Dramatic Association.

The aims of this association are: to increase interest in intercollegiate dramatics, to use dramatic clubs as laboratories for the teaching and study of the drama, to develop folk material, to develop aesthetic and artistic appreciation, to train persons for cultural services in the community, and to establish a bond of good will and fellowship among the colleges.

The members from the start planned to develop the program by emphasizing teaching and study, and a good home production of plays. In addition they made provision for an intercollegiate exchange of dramatic productions in the same manner that athletics are conducted, and a one-act play tournament at the end of the season. At this tournament one college acts as the host, and the other four compete for a first prize of fifty dollars and a second prize of twenty-five dollars. It rotates from college to college each year. The programs for these tournaments contain a history of each club for the year.

The association celebrated its fourth birthday this year. What are the results so far? Well, during that time the members collectively have given a total of 204 productions, which included all types of plays. Some were classical, others were modern, and a great many of them were one-act plays. There were twenty successful intercollegiate exchange productions in the number. Twenty-six of the plays presented were Negro plays. They were divided as follows: thirteen were written by white authors, four by directors, and nine by students. Three of the plays written by directors have been entered into the tournaments. One won first prize, and another won a second prize. This is quite a record for productions in four years. No Little Theatre Movement can show like results. Only the record of The Gilpin Players in Cleveland can be favorably compared with it.

The judges at the first two tournaments were local men and women. At the last two an expert in the field was chosen as a critic-judge. Professor Frederick H. Koch, the Director of The Carolina Playmakers was chosen in 1933, and Professor Alexander Dean of The Yale School of Drama this year. The association thus plans to profit by expert criticism and advice.

The success of this group of colleges in four years is inspiring the formation of similar groups in other sections. On April 13th and 14th the colleges in North Carolina met at Bennett College for Women in Greensboro and formed the first State Wide Intercollegiate Dramatic Association for Negroes. North Carolina College, Shaw University, Barber-Scotia College, Kittrell College, Livingstone College, Elizabeth City State Normal School, Palmer Memorial Institute, the A. and T. College, St. Augustine College, and Bennett College for Women are members of this association. The one most responsible for this association is Professor Walter L. Smith of Bennett. Professor Smith himself is a product of the first association, having at one time been a member of The Morgan College Players.

Besides this group, others are in the process of being formed. I received a letter last year from Mr. Russell K. Osby stating that Louisville Municipal College, Talladega College, Lane College, and Tennessee State College were forming an association and others in the far South are also thinking about the idea. In fact, it has been freely predicted that in the next few years, each one of our colleges and universities will belong to some dramatic association.

So far in the discussion, it has been shown that college organizations have been formed, and many productions have been given. The next question which arises is how is the whole affecting the rank and file of the people? Unless the people are interested, no true theatre can be built. The obvious answer is that these production have not been restricted to collegiate audiences. Every club in The Negro Intercollegiate Dramatic Association has been on tour, and presented programs for the general public. During one season alone Morgan College traveled through six states and presented twenty-six productions in fifteen different cities. They played for all kinds of organizations, churches, colleges, high schools, Y. M. and Y. W. C. A.'s, and community organizations. They played in all kinds of buildings from church auditoriums and halls to the finest theatres.

Another way in which the work of these colleges reaches the general public is through the students they turn out. Almost invariably they carry with them their love for dramatics. Many of them are teaching, and are directors of dramatics in the schools in which they teach. Those who are not teaching usually affiliate themselves with some community group, giving the group the advantage of collegiate training and experience. I will illustrate from three of the former Morgan College Players, not because students from other groups aren't doing just as well, but because I am not familiar enough with their achievements to state them accurately.

After leaving college, Carlton Moss became interested in the radio. He finally persuaded the officials of The National Broadcasting Company to let him write a series of sketches for the radio. Under the program names of "Careless Love," and later "Folks From Dixie," he wrote scores of radio plays. The programs were practically continuous for over two years. He was among the first, if not the very first Negro to write radio plays for the big broadcasting companies. In addition to this, he has found the time to appear in plays on Broadway, and in many moving pictures for The Micheaux Picture Corporation. He is at present the director of dramatics for the Y.M.C.A. in New York, and is busy writing other radio plays.

Ralph Matthews turned to journalism. He is at present the theatrical editor of *The Baltimore Afro-American*, and one of its leading columnists. During the last few years, he has experimented with

musical comedy. He wrote the libretto for "Adam and Eva, Inc.," a satire on the Creation, "Shadows on the Moon," an allegorical musical dealing with the depression in heaven, and "Looking at the Stars," a satire on Hollywood. The music was written by Rivers D. Chambers. They were staged and produced in Baltimore by Sheldon D. Hoskins with a cast of over seventy-five people, and were much better than ninety per cent of the professional shows, and certainly more strikingly original. His next experiment will be with the musical revue.

Thomas Poag's experiments have been in organizing Little Theatres. He organized the first summer theatre in Asbury Park, and the Epworth League Players at St. Mark's Church in New York. He is now director of the Young Men's Dramatic Department at Linden Center in Dayton, and also has charge of the Little Theatre programs at the Palace Theatre. His programs have been a success at each place.

The work of these three is typical of the works of many others now leaving our college dramatic organizations. They are organizing clubs in schools and communities. They are experimenting with plays and productions. In a few years, if this keeps up, our standard Little Theatres, community theatres, and even the professional theatres will feel their presence. The whole influence for good, however, will be traced back to the college theatre.

We are now ready to answer the question asked in the title: What good are college dramatics? From the results so far, one is justified in saying that the college theatre, more so than any other type of organization, contains the true seeds for developing a real Negro Theatre.

Justice, Justice!

By ARNOLD C. DE MILLE

"JUSTICE! Justice!" the cry of civilization.

"Justice! Justice!" the cry of democracy.

"Justice! Oh, Justice! Where art thou?" the cry of the Negro.

Justice! What is this thing—justice? What does it mean? Where does it exist?

Justice . . "the maintenance or administration of that which is just . . the rendering to every one his due right."

Justice . . "In our courts, where every man—regardless of race, creed or color—is given a fair trial, justice dominates".

ONCE UPON a time there were riding on a freight train two girls and an uncertain number of boys and young men. The girls were white; the boys and young men were both white and colored. Soon there ensued a brawl. The white boys were the losers. They were thrown off the train, all with the exception of, according to reports, two. Those two rode on with the girls and colored lads. There were nine of these colored lads, age ranging from thirteen to twenty-one, all of very poor families and with little or no education. Ignorant boys, they were called.

News of the brawl somehow reached the town to which the train was nearing, causing much excitement and active enmity. Soon there were gathered at the station many farmers, the county sheriff and other county and state officials, each and all waiting anxiously for the approaching train.

The train arrived. The two girls and eleven boys were taken off. The nine colored lads were accused of attacking the girls. The girls said no.

"Better say they did," declared the state solicitors, "if you know what's good for you!"

The girls did. The colored lads were taken to prison. They underwent much cruel punishment, but maintained their innocence. The girls were examined by doctors. There were no signs of ravishment at the time predicted, the doctors announced.

"The girls were raped!" the reports went.

Six days after the boys were taken off the train twenty indictments were returned against them. They were arraigned before a court and pleaded not guilty. Two or three days later facts began to be exposed. About twenty days after the brawl, the trial began. The same day two of the lads were found guilty by the jury. The next day the third was found guilty. On the third day of the trial the jury returned a verdict of "guilty" against five of them. A mistrial was reported in the case of one. His age was thirteen.

On the fourth day the judge pronounced a death sentence on eight of them. Two months later they were to die in the electric chair.

Letters, telegrams and cablegrams commenced pouring in from everywhere. Protest meetings were held in large cities in Europe and America.

"Those boys are innocent!" the cry of the public. "They must not die!"

Amended motions for a new trial were filed. Affidavits on the character and reputation of the girls were drawn up. The presiding judge overruled all motions for a new trial. An appeal to the State Supreme Court was noted. A new trial was denied. The case went to the Supreme Court. The boys were granted a new trial.

One of the girls repudiated her first statement.

"They made us say those boys attacked us," she declared. "There were no Negroes in the freight car in which we were traveling."

"She lied!" cried the other.

The boys were sentenced to die the second time.

Again the case went to the State Supreme Court. The second verdict was vacated.

"A fair trial is impossible for the Negroes—" announced the judge.

The third trial took place. The boys were sentenced to die again!

Justice?

Justice . . "the quality of being fair . . uprightness in dealing with others" . .

A MAN, white—a Southerner—of reputation; politically known, pulled into a dark hallway a young girl of nineteen, colored. An attack was attempted. The girl struggled. Screamed. Two men hastened to her aid; both colored. The attacker was beaten. An officer appeared on the scene.

"These damn' niggers trying' to rob me!" cried the beaten man.

The girl's clothes torn; bruises upon her face and body. She and the two men were arrested. Their story—the actual truth—was ignored. The men were given three years on the chain gang. The girl one year in the penitentiary. The attacker enjoyed freedom!

Justice?

Justice! Justice!

"No state shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law" . . .

Once a man was arrested with his sister and a cousin on the charge of having had something to do with the killing of a sheriff. The sheriff was murdered while accompanying several other county deputies on a raid at the home of the father of the accused man. They were tried, and found guilty. The two men were sentenced to death. The woman was to spend the rest of her life in the penitentiary. The case was taken to the State Supreme Court. A new trial was granted.

Six months later, while on trial for the second time, a special session was held for the benefit of the accused man.

"Not guilty," pronounced the judge, "on the charge of conspiracy to murder."

Early the next morning—three o'clock—a group of citizens stormed the jail, overpowered the jailer and sheriff. They carried the three accused away in an automobile.

The bodies of the three were found in a pine thicket just beyond the city limit!

Justice?

A lad, fifteen, colored, was arrested because someone said he shot a grocer, white. He was beaten brutally, his condition being critical. He was taken to a city hospital; handcuffed to the bed.

Eight days later, still handcuffed to the bed, he was seized by a dozen men who "kept the hospital attendants at bay and cut the telephone wires."

The body was found strung to a tree and riddled with bullets!

Justice?

Two men charged with robbery. They were being taken from one city to another for trial. A mob seized the officers and tied them to a tree.

The two men were hanged!

Justice?

Justice! Justice!

"No man shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law" . . .

There was a man, white, who blackened his face with soot, then attacked a woman, white, of social reputation.

"Rape!" she cried. "Tall, black, dark clothes, and a cap."

Two blocks away a young man, colored, tall, black, dark clothes, and a cap, was seen.

"Yonder is the nigger!" shouted someone. "Get 'im!"

Two hours later his body was taken from a lamp post, riddled with bullets!

Justice?

A man, fifty, colored, for more than twenty-five years a paralytic. Both arms useless. Left leg paralyzed. Had to be dressed and fed by his wife. He was accused of attacking a woman, white. His body was riddled with bullets and left in a road.

"Lynched for safety," explained the county officials.

Justice?

Long, long ago, in the year nineteen thirty-three, a young man, colored, fugitive from the chain gang, was accused of criminally attacking a farmer's wife. Upon hearing of what he had done, took refuge in the belfry of a church. There he remained for several days, until discovered by a searching party of county officials, who shot and wounded him.

"Drew a gun and tried to resist arrest," remarked the sheriff.

He was on his way to prison with the sheriff when a mob "took" him away. He was chained to an automobile and dragged through the town for more than thirty minutes. Then his heart was cut out; his body tied to a stake. . . .

Facts remain that he was innocent of the crime for which he paid with his life.

Justice?

A sixteen year-old boy, colored, accused of attacking an eleven year-old girl, white, was tied with a rope and dog chain to a tree and shot thirty-two times.

No evidence was ever found of his guilt!

Justice?

There was a man who was taken out of a jail by a small band of men. No one knew who he was, or even why he was in jail. "An unnamed Negro," was the report, "taken out of jail, beaten, then shot in the back."

Before he died in a sanitarium, he pointed out among a group of ten, the two who took him from the jail, and the one who shot him in the back.

"The man is insane!" they cried.

The three identified persons enjoyed freedom.

Justice?

Justice! Oh, Justice! Where art thou?

"Lynching is an evil that should be done away with."

An eighteen year-old youth, colored, was arrested for a supposed attack on an eleven year-old girl, white, in whose home he was employed. The grand jury took the case. There was no witness; no evidence.

"Not guilty," returned the jury.

The young man was freed. Twenty minutes after he reached home a band of armed men dragged him from the arms of his relatives. His body was found at the forks of a road hanging from the limb of a cedar tree, with three bullet wounds and a deep gash in the head.

"The lynching was done in a very quiet manner," explained the sheriff. "No one knew anything about it."

Justice?

THERE was a man, colored, who was a Republican leader in a Southern state. The Republican chairman, he was. Many did not want him as their leader. He was a Negro. "Give up your post!" they demanded. He refused. He was taken from his home, carried into another county and beaten to death.

Justice?

"A mob of whites," the news a Negro publication carried, "alleged to have been led by the town marshal, riddled the body of a man with bullets. The dying man's body was tied to the back of an automobile and dragged through the streets. He had been accused of writing notes to a white woman."

"The facts stated are correct," a letter received by the N.A.A.C.P. went, "but the tragedy grew out of a quarrel that occurred three weeks before between some colored boys and some white boys when the whites were interfering with some colored girls at a colored church, the colored boys getting the best of the fight."

Justice?

A man, colored, accused of attacking a woman, white, was arrested. A day or two later he was taken from the jail by a mob, paraded through the streets, then dragged to a tree on the outskirts of the town. Later it was revealed that the woman was not attacked as reported, but merely became frightened at the man's appearance in her home, and ran screaming from the house.

Justice?

Justice! Justice!

"Every man is fully protected by the law".

"I told them I was innocent," said a lad of nineteen who had been hung by a mob and who was supposed to have assisted another colored youth murder a fifteen year-old girl, white. But that didn't do any good. They beat me worser.

"When I went there to visit my grandmother I heard 'bout this white girl; she been found dead in the cane-field. They arrested this boy who they say killed the girl. One night some men took him an' say they going' to hang him. They torture him, an' he gave the name of a Negro boy he say help him. Ain't nobody there by that name. But the first name the same as mine, and they come for me.

"It was three o'clock in the mornin' when they come. 'Get up, nigger, and put your clothes on!' they say to me. The sheriff was leadin' the mob, an' when I don't put on my clothes fast enough he beat me with his gun. They let me put on only my pants and shirt. They say they'd show me my pal hangin'. 'Nigger,' they say, 'you went after a white woman!' an' I said I know nothin' 'bout it.

"They took me down to the bridge in a car and sixty or seventy mens yanked me out. They was beatin' me with their guns and fists. They say if I tell them I did it they'd let me go, but I just say I's innocent. I didn't plead nor nothin'. They say I helped this boy they say killed this woman. He was hangin' there, tortured. He was dead.

"One of these men say, 'Let's hang this nigger an' be done with it!' Another man says, 'No, we've hung one nigger, let's burn this one.'

"They decides to hang me. One

white boy gets a brand new rope. I was bleeding bad. They make a loop in the rope an' puts it 'round my neck an' throws one end to a fellow standin' on the bridge right next to where this other boy was hangin'.

"They starts to pull me up. I says to the last I is innocent. But that don't do no good. They pulls me in the air, and I couldn't breathe, an' my eyes poppin'. I felt bad.

"Then the bridge tender, he says, 'Cut that nigger down! He just got here. His son climb up on the bridge an' cut the rope. I fell down almost unconscious. The sheriff, he grabs me an' puts me in a car with two other mens. They drive ten miles down a back road in the dark. They stop longside a canefield, an' the sheriff, he says, 'Get out, nigger!' I gits out an' walks 'about twenty feet when I hears the sheriff call, 'Run, nigger!' I starts a runnin'. They starts shootin' at me. I hears them bullets singin' close to my head as I runs. I stumbled and fell in the canefield. I hear the sheriff say, 'Come on, boys, we got that nigger!' an' they drove off.

"I lay there bleedin' for a long time. It's dark, an' I gets frightened. I get sorta nervous with what's happened to me an' I gits afraid. Finally, I crawls across the canefield and gets to a colored lady's house an' she lets me hide till her son goes to work an' then she put me out. She says, 'Git out. I don't want the sheriff come here.' I go to my uncle's house an' hides in the corncrib all day, an' he says, 'You bettah git away from here.' I tell him I just gotta see grandmother because she think they done killed me.

"Night come. I went to a gal I knows an' she get my grandmother. My grandmother, she been cryin' all day because they tell her they'll find my body in the canefield in a day or two. She gave me some money an' some clothes, and that night I walked twenty miles to another town an' got the train home.

"When I got home I went to the hospital to get my head an' cuts fixed up. They arrested me there, an' I stayed in jail two weeks. The stepfather of the girl who was killed confessed he killed her, an' they let me go."

"It's a lie!" declared the sheriff. "It's a malicious lie!"

Justice?

"Justice! Oh, Justice! Where art thou?"

A Wage Differential Based On Race

By ROBERT C. WEAVER

Dr. Weaver writes effectively against the wage differential. We commend his closing paragraph to those leaders of white labor who have ignored the implications of a sectional, really "black", wage differential:

"It is clear that the unity of all labor into an organized body would be impossible if there were a racial differential. The essence of collective bargaining is an impersonal and standard wage. Unionism rests upon the cooperation of all workers. A racial wage differential prevents both of these developments. It would, therefore, destroy the possibility of A REAL LABOR MOVEMENT in this country."

NO issue affecting Negroes under the recovery program is of more importance than that of wage policy under the NRA. There is no other question arising out of the new deal which has excited more discussion among enlightened Negroes. Like most important controversies, this is a complicated matter. To discuss it intelligently, one must consider the philosophy of the recovery program and the implications of the Negro's position in American Life.

There are two observations which are fundamental. In the first place, Southern industrial life is personal and paternalistic. The employers like to keep in touch with the workers. This paternalism is especially present in the relationship between the white employer and his Negro workers. A manufacturer of the deep South explained why he preferred Negro workers saying that he could handle them easier—they felt close to the boss and he felt close to them. On the other hand, the philosophy behind minimum wage provisions (and all social legislation) is that of an impersonal and highly developed industrial life. Thus there is a fundamental conflict between the Southern system and the labor provisions of the NRA.

The very idea of a sub-marginal minimum for Negro workers is an expression of the second important feature in the situation—the tendency to lump all Negroes together and judge them by the least desirable and the least able in the group. This tendency is, of course, the most arbitrary and pernicious feature of race prejudice.

Since the inauguration of the NRA, there has been a series of attempts to establish lower minimum rates of wages for Negro workers. First it was said that Negroes have a lower standard of living. Then, lower wages were defended on the basis of the Negro's lower efficiency. Lastly, it was pointed out that lower wages for Negroes were traditional and should be incorporated as a feature of the New Deal. However, the most telling and important argument for a lower minimum wage for Negroes was the fact that they were being displaced from industry as a result of the operation of the labor provision of the NRA.

Long before the New Deal was thought of, there was a constant displacement of Negroes by white workers. Certain cities in the South replaced their colored workers with whites; in other places organizations were initiated to foster the substitution of white for black laborers in all positions. The minimum wage regulations of the NRA accelerated this tendency. Indeed, it resulted in wholesale discharges in certain areas. More recently, the tendency has been arrested.

There are many causes for the failure of the program to be carried further. In the first place, there is reason to believe that employers resorted to the discharge of colored workers as a means of forcing the NRA to grant a racial differential. They declared that if a man had to be paid as much as twelve dollars a week, they would pay a white worker that wage. Then, too, there are many instances where it is impossible to discharge a whole working force. Even modern industry with its automatic machinery requires workers of some training, and training is a time and money consuming process. Thus, where Negroes formed a large percentage of the total working force, it was often impracticable to displace them and hire a new all-white labor force.

Neverthless, there have been many displacements of Negroes. All the available evidence seems to indicate, as one would expect, that perhaps the greater part of this substitution of white

"Little Man, What Now?"

for Negro workers has occurred in small enterprizes where the Negro is often the marginal worker. In such plants, the separation of Negro workers presented no important question of organizational integrity or of training.

Out of these developments a movement for a racial differential has arisen. The motivating force for such a campaign has come from the Southern employers who have, for the most part, shifted their emphasis from standard of living and tradition to efficiency and displacement. The latter feature—the loss of job opportunities to Negroes—has been made much of in recent months. Appeals have been made to Negro leaders to endorse a lower minimum wage for Negroes on the ground that such action is necessary if Negroes are not to be forced out of industry. The colored leaders have been careful in their championing of this cause. A few have been convinced that it is the only possible way out; some have supported the policy because of local pressure in the South but most have tried to keep out of the discussion. Many are almost convinced that it is the proper choice but fear a loss of prestige among Negroes if they speak in favor of such a measure.

Briefly, the only possible argument for a racial wage differential is one based upon a *de facto* situation. Negroes have lost jobs as a result of the NRA, and a lower wage for them would counteract this tendency. It would assure Negroes of retaining their old jobs and perhaps it would lead to a few additional ones. It may be observed that this reasoning is correct as far as it goes. Certainly, a racial differential would do much to arrest and, perchance, offset the displacement of Negro workers. But there is more involved in this question than the arresting of Negro displacement. In it are the elements which combine to establish the whole industrial position of colored Americans.

The establishment of a lower minimum wage for Negroes would have far reaching effects. It would brand black workers as a less efficient and submarginal group. It would increase the ill-will and friction between white and colored workers. It would destroy much of the advance Negroes have made in the industrial North. It would destroy any possibility of ever forming a strong and effective labor movement in the nation. The ultimate effect would be to relegate Negroes into a low wage caste and place the federal stamp of approval upon their being in such a position.

It was pointed out above that the most damnable feature of racial prejudice in America is the tendency to judge all Negroes by the least able colored persons. Obviously, a racial minimum is an expression of such an attitude. Were this not true, why should Negroes be singled out for a special—and lower—rate of pay? There have been no satisfactory or convincing studies of racial efficiency. (Efforts along this line are even more crude than the measures we have which have been set up to gauge intelligence.) Indeed, it is absurd to talk about racial efficiency since Negroes, like every other group of human beings vary in their effectiveness. The efficiency of a worker depends upon his native ability, environment and specific training. These factors differ between individuals rather than between races. A racial differential on the other hand would say, in effect, that efficiency is based on race and the individual black worker—because he is a Negro—is less efficient.

Now, there is still another phase of this matter. The very attitude which dictates a racial differenital would make such a provision most discriminatory against colored workers. Any minimum wage tends to become a maximum. In the case of Negro workers this tendency would be accentuated. Since all Negroes are usually considered the same regardless of their ability, a lower minimum for black labor would in fact, mean that practically all Negroes would receive wages lower than their white prototypes. Not only would this be manifestly unfair, but in certain areas it would undermine the race's industrial progress of the last twenty years. During this period, Negroes have entered the industries of the North and the West as never before. They came from the South, where they were treated with mercy (as opposed to justice), and faced a situation which was new to them. Standards of efficiency were higher and they had to measure up to these new standards. Some failed but the recent data on Negro participation in Northern industry show that many succeeded. It has been a difficult process of adaptation. The fruits have been higher wages and less racial discrimination in rates of pay. To establish a differential based on race, would be, in effect, to take away the fruits of this hard-won victory.

Nor would the white worker respond favorably to the notion of a lower minimum for Negro workers. His first response in the South would be favorable because his ego would be flattered. But when the lower minimum destroyed the effectiveness of the higher minimum, the white recipient of the latter would blame the Negro. The black worker, North and South, would be regarded as the force which rendered it impossible for workers to demand a decent wage and find employment. This would occasion no end of misunderstanding and hatred between the white and black worker.

It is clear that the unity of all labor into an organized body would be impossible if there were a racial differential. The essence of collective bargaining is an impersonal and standard wage. Unionism rests upon the cooperation of all workers. A racial wage differential prevents both of these developments. It would, therefore, destroy the possibility of *a real labor movement* in this country.

Emeline Cooper
Ranking Student
Barber-Scotia

Marion Edward Zealy
Ranking Student
Paine

Lillian J. Lee
Ranking Student
A.&T.College of N. Carolina

Hubert Webster Norris
Magna Cum Laude
Clark

Isabella H. Pearson
A.B.
Claflin

The American Negro in College, 1933, 1934

HOWARD UNIVERSITY in Washington, D. C., leads in the number of graduates receiving the degrees of bachelor of arts or bachelor of science for the school year of 1933-34. During the year diplomas were awarded to 132 graduates. Hampton ranks second with 113 and Tennessee A. and I. State College third with 105. The number of Tuskegee graduates dropped below the 100 mark to 87.

As is always the case, THE CRISIS has had difficulty this year in securing statistics upon Negro students and graduates in mixed institutions of learning. Our returns are by no means complete, for the tabulation shown elsewhere in this article omits several universities, such as Ohio State, Ohio, University of Minnesota, University of Chicago, Northwestern, New York University, College of the City of New York, and others where there are always several colored graduates. The tabulation, incomplete as it is, does show 94 colored graduates from the schools listed.

The statistics show this year one Negro woman graduate of a law school in Brooklyn, N. Y. THE CRISIS has received notice of the awarding of six degrees of doctor of philosophy, one each at Yale, Harvard, Michigan, Toronto, Boston and Minnesota.

From its professional schools Howard graduated 98 and Meharry Medical college 63. Detailed information and statistics:

Charles Wesley Buggs received his Ph.D. from University of Minnesota.

Albert Alexander Kildaire received his Ph.D. from Boston University.

Moses Wharton Young was awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Michigan.

James H. Robinson was awarded his Ph.D. from Yale.

Marion Moreland received his Ph.D. from the University of Toronto.

Ralph J. Bunche, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Howard University, has been awarded the Toppan Prize of $200. The Toppan Prize is awarded "only to essays or dissertations of exceptional merit and consequently is not awarded every year." Professor Bunche's dissertation, "French Colonial Administration in Togoland and Dahomey" was submitted to the Department of Government, Harvard University, on January 2, 1934 and approved January 5, 1934. Mr. Bunche was awarded the degree Ph.D. at the mid-year convocation, receiving his diploma in February, 1934.

Augusta V. Jackson received her B.A. degree cum laude from Brooklyn College.

The honor of being the first Negro woman to graduate from the Brooklyn law school of St. Lawrence University goes to Ruby H. Diggs who received her LL.B.

The General Organization Student Government of the Thomas Jefferson High School, New York, elected Lloyd George Sealy as its president for the fall semester. Among the 7,000 students in Jefferson probably 90 per cent are Jewish.

Professor Lucian Solomon Brown has been elected president of Brainerd Institute, Chester, S. C.

James A. French, a member of the Wendell Phillips Senior High School faculty has been awarded a scholarship to study at the Geneva School of International Studies, Oxford University, England.

Preston Valien was graduated with the highest distinction from Prairie View State Normal & Industrial College.

Waller C. Hurley was the ranking student of State A. & M. College, Orangeburg, S. C.

Donald Gaines Murray was the ranking student of Amherst College. He won The John Franklin Genung Prize of $50, given anonymously in memory of Professor Genung, to that member of the Junior or Senior Class who excels in prose composition.

Marion Edward Zealey was the ranking student at Paine College, Augusta, Georgia.

Ruth Harriet Williams graduated with honors from State College, Dover, Delaware.

Haron James Battle is the ranking student of Morehouse College.

At Meharry Medical College, W. D. Pettus, received the highest scholastic average for his four years of training in medicine, obtaining an average of 92.26; Millard M. Cann received the highest scholastic average for his four years of training in dentistry, obtaining an average of 92.42; Ollie J. Sims received the highest scholastic average for her three years of training in nursing, obtaining an average of 92.35.

Samuel Blanton Wright, Jr., was the ranking student of the graduating class from the College of Liberal Arts, Morris Brown College, Atlanta, Ga.

Henry McMillan had the highest scholastic average at the Florida A. & M. College.

Lillian J. Lee was the ranking student at A. & T. College of North Carolina.

Roy A. Woods was the ranking student of Lincoln University, Missouri.

Virginia Rose Hannon was honor student at Spelman. She was awarded the Finney prize.

Hubert Webster Norris was the ranking student at Clark University.

Mary Elizabeth Hoover was graduated Magna Cum Laude from Allen University.

Ethel Marie Duffy was the ranking student at West Virginia State College.

Luther H. Foster, Jr., was the ranking student of Hampton Institute.

Rubye Evelyn Gadson was the ranking student of Arkansas A. M. & N.

Alfred W. Walker graduated with honors from Lincoln University, Penn.

Narvie A. Purifoy was the ranking student at Livingstone College.

Ruby Moon Brinkley, student of Virginia Union University, ranked highest.

Fred Werthly Alsup graduated with honors from Fisk University.

Sylvia Lyons won highest honors at Tennessee A. & I. State College.

Armenta Freeman was the ranking student at Bluefield State Teachers College. She was the valedictorian.

Virginia L. Simmons finished in three and one-half years and was the ranking student at Bennett College for Women.

Orion T. Ayer won honors at Bethune-Cookman.

Helen Elizabeth Wiley graduated Summa Cum Laude from Tillotson College.

Geraldine Bennett received her M. A. degree from Teachers College, Columbia University. She was one of the two Negroes elected to membership in Kappa Delta Pi, international honorary scholarship fraternity for schools of education.

Emeline Cooper ranked highest at Barber-Scotia Junior College.

Elizabeth Neill was the ranking student at Wellesley.

William Phillips
M.A.
Temple University

Minerva L. Haywood
M.A.
Western Reserve

Joseph G. Fletcher, Jr.
M.A.
Cornell

Jennie Alexander
M.A.
N. Y. U.

W. E. Carrington
S.T.M.
Union Theological

Virginia Hannon
A.B.
Spelman

Fred Werthly Alsup
Ranking Student
Fisk

Mary Elizabeth Hoover
A.B.
Allen University

Alfred W. Walker
A.B.
Lincoln University

Virginia Lee Simmons
A.B.
Bennett

Sylvester J. Carter ranked highest at Bates.

Kenneth A. Morris and Roland M. Sawyer ranked highest at International Y. M. C. A. College.

John A. Cobbs and Robert Coleman were ranking students at Western Reserve.

William Phillips was ranking student at Temple University.

Gertrude Evangeline Scott was graduated Cum Laude at Ohio State University, and elected a member of Phi Beta Kappa.

Isabella H. Pearson received her A. B. degree from Claflin.

W. E. Carrington received his S. T. M. from Union Theological Seminary.

Master of Arts graduated from Negro colleges:

Howard	19
Fisk	15
Hampton	2
Meharry Medical College	
M.D.	40
D.D.S.	8
Phar.C.	2
R.N.	13

Howard has graduated from its professional schools 98 as follows:

M.D.	47
LL.B.	7
D.D.S.	6
Phar.C.	2
B.Th.	6
B.D.	1
M.A.	19
M.S.	10
Gammon Theological Seminary	
B.D.	13
(Four received the Seminary Diploma)	
Virgina Union	
B.Th.	6
B.D.	3
Bishop College	
Mus.B.	1
B.Th.	2

Name	Number Enrolled	A.B. or B.S.
Howard	1,200	132
Tennessee A. & I. State	1,057	105
Hampton	913	113
Tuskegee Institute	849	87
Prairie View State	769	53
Virginia Union	563	43
West Virginia State	559	78
Florida A. & M.	469	44
Wiley	410	40
Morgan	409	56
Alabama State Teachers College	408	11
Fisk	389	57
Bishop	377	26
Clark	376	37
Morris-Brown	374	37
South Carolina State A. & M.	373	46
Georgia State Industrial	330	17
A. & T. College of North Carolina	322	31
Philander Smith	288	20
Le Moyne	287	26
Lincoln University, Missouri	281	22
Louisville Municipal	270	12
Lincoln University, Pennsylvania	263	55
Bluefield State Teachers College	253	22
Allen	220	22
Spelman	219	35
Talladega	218	49
Bennett College for Women	214	22
Johnson C. Smith University	214	50
St. Augustine	207	30
Tillotson	183	14
Arkansas A. M. & N.	178	18
Livingstone	156	23
Bethune-Cookman Junior College	154	92
Dunbar Junior College	144	.....
Kentucky Industrial	135	.....
Paine	136	17
Tougaloo	112	11
Gammon Theological Seminary	77	.....
Shorter	75	.....
Leland	60	7
Kentucky Industrial Junior College	26	.....
Wayne University	182	8
University of Illinois	122	20
State University of Iowa	110	8
Hunter	108	20
Boston University	66	6
Western Reserve	45	3
Butler University	41	5
University of Nebraska	20	1
Yale	10	.....
International Y. M. C. A. College	10	1
Purdue University	8	.....
Simmons	5	1
Bates	5	3
University of New Mexico	5	1
Brown	4	.....
Harvard University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences	4	.....
Drew	4	.....
Massachusetts Institute of Technology	4	1
Wellesley	4	2
Harvard University	4	1
Smith	3	2
Bowdoin	2	.....
Radcliffe	2	1
Dartmouth	1	1
Byrn Mawr	1	1
Rutgers	1	.....
University of Cincinnati	....	16
Kansas State	24	.....
Syracuse	4	.....

The Battle Must Go On

By Francis J. Grimke

THE questions asked of The N.A.A.C.P. by Dr. DuBois towards the close of his article in the May number of The Crisis, are all answered in the affirmative, it would not follow that there is any inconsistency between its affirmations and its declaration of principles in regard to segregation.

1. The Negro church is not a segregated body, in the sense in which the term is ordinarily used, in the sense that no white persons can join a Negro church, or worship in one. The so-called Negro church is simply a *Christian* church, and, as such, is open to all regardless of race or color, as every church must be to be Christian. The reason why white people do not join

Zelmyra Peterson
M.A.
Columbia

A. Russell Brooks
M.A.
University of Wisconsin

Amelia Rives Wilcher
M.S.
Columbia

Donald F. White
M.S.
University of Michigan

Mabel Hurt Bullard
M.A.
Columbia

Gertrude Scott
A.B.
Ohio State

Marvie A. Purifoy
A.B.
Livingstone

Preston Valien
B.A.
Prairie View State N. & I.

Rubye Evelyn Gadson
A.B.
Arkansas A. M. & N.

Ethel Marie Duffy
B.A.
West Virginia State

them or attend them is not because they cannot, but because they will not.

2. Its endorsement of such educational institutions as Atlanta, Fisk, Hampton, Talladega, Tuskegee, Howard, doesn't mean that it believes in segregated institutions. These institutions have grown up under segregated conditions. To continue to patronize them, to support them, is in no way inconsistent with opposition to the principle back of them and out of which they grew. To refuse to profit by them, to use them now that they exist, would be the height of folly, would be to show a lack of good sense. The time is coming, must come, when there will be no distinctively Nego institutions, or distinctively white institutions, in the sense that only Negroes or whites will be allowed to attend them. And so, with the other six questions, there is just as little relevancy in them as in these two.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People can, therefore, with perfect consistency use all of these agencies or institutions mentioned by Dr. DuBois, and yet go on steadily, persistently fighting this accursed thing —racial segregation. While we are waiting for a change for the better, for the triumph of reason, common sense, and of Christian ideals and principles, let the battle against racial segregation go on. We must not become discouraged because the progress has been slow.

And this wrong of enforced racial segregation must be righted. And we must help to do it, not only by seeking to make the most of ourselves and our opportunities; but also by our unwavering protest against it. Thus the white man will be kept face to face with his unjust and unbrotherly treatment of a fellow man, created in the image of God and for whom Christ died. He must not be allowed to forget the unworthy character of his conduct. As long as this debasing and insulting condition continues, we dare not be silent; we must protest, and go on protesting. It is what we owe to ourselves, and to those who are to come after us, to our children and to our children's children; and it is also the witness that we must bear to the sacredness of personality, to the treatment that is due to every human being made in the image of God.

The old slave holders were wise in shutting out all light from their slaves, in keeping them in a state of ignorance. It was the best possible way of keeping them quiet, of making them satisfied with their condition. And so, if this race of ours is to be made quiescent, satisfied with present segregated conditions, we have to do the very opposite of what Dr. DuBois recommends.—We have got to stop growing, stop aspiring, we have got to quench within us every spark of ambition, every noble aspiration and become as dumb driven cattle.

As long as a spark of manhood remains in us; as long as the consciousness of the fact that we are sons of God, is kept alive within us, the battle against racial segregation will go on. The thing is inevitable. It is bound to continue until this evil is corrected. We can't consistently say to a race: Go ahead; press eagerly forward; bend every effort towards realizing in the highest degree all that it is capable of attaining unto; and expect it to accept the status of a segregated group, expect it quietly to allow itself to be branded, *INFERIOR;* and more, by its silence help to affix the stigma upon itself. Whatever may be said pro or con in this controversy, one thing we may be sure of, the race will never as long as it keeps its senses, accept as a finality the status of a segregated group.

Enforced racial segregation in the U. S. must become a constantly diminishing factor until it entirely disappears. That is the goal towards which we must be ever looking and working.

Armenta Freeman
Valedictorian
Bluefield State

Henry McMillan
Highest Distinction
Florida A. & M.

Helen Elizabeth Wiley
A.B. Summa Cum Laude
Tillotson

Orion T. Ayer
Bethune-Cookman

Sylvia Lyons
Tenn. A. & I.

Negro Police Officers in Los Angeles

By one of Los Angeles' Negro Police Officers, who, for obvious reasons remains anonymous

THE City of Los Angeles is geographically divided into fifteen police districts, or divisions. Each division has a detective bureau in conjunction with the regular uniform unit. The detective and uniform units are separate, but coordinating, branches of the police department. Each outlying station, or division, has two commanding officers: one in charge of the detectives, and one in charge of the uniform policemen. The chief of police, who is general manager of the department, sits in the city hall with his official family, composed of an assistant chief and various deputies and inspectors. The chief is responsible to a board of five civilian police commissioners, who are appointed by the Mayor with the concurrence of the city council. The chief has absolute power in the matter of assignments, but in the matter of appointments, promotions, and removals his power is limited by law.

The first Negro was appointed to the Los Angeles police department in 1889. At that time Los Angeles had a Negro population of a few hundred persons. There was no "Black Belt," no Negro business, nor was there even a small Negro residential section. Negroes lived all over the small pueblo; consequently, this man patrolled a "beat" on Main street, then the heart of the city. Discrimination was unknown.

The number of Negro members of the department grew until they reached their greatest number in the period 1920–1925. In this period there were about sixty Negro policemen in the city. This period also marked the Negroes' greatest success in the matter of securing higher positions within the department. In 1924, there was a Negro captain of detectives, and five Negro detective lieutenants, all of whom secured their positions by excelling in promotional examinations in competition with all members of the department. From the high mark of the years '24 and '25, the number of Negroes has dwindled today to forty-five (including two policewomen). The captain has retired. Death and retirements have reduced the detective lieutenants to two. There have been no promotions among Negro officers since 1925, and it has been five years since a Negro was appointed to the police department.

The activities of the thirty-nine Negro patrolmen are confined to six police divisions, with the majority of them working in one division, the division wherein lies the "black belt." Of the nineteen men working in divisions other than the one known as the Newton division (black belt), ten work in districts where there is a large foreign or Negro population, and nine work as traffic officers. These traffic officers work in the wholesale district; none is employed in the central traffic or shopping district. The Negro detectives, of whom there are but two with regular civil service rating, are all employed in the Newton division. (There are six Negro detective lieutenants, but four of them are regular policemen assigned to the detective bureau by the chief. They do not receive the pay of the regular detectives.)

In all parts of the country, in both private enterprise and in public service, Negroes have been compensated, in a small way, for the indignities and hardships endured through segregation, by placing them, among their own people,

(See page 248)

Aubrey C. Pankey

Aubrey Pankey is now singing in London, and has sent word to friends in New York that he may return to America this autumn after nearly four years of study and of concert tours in Europe. Mr. Pankey hails from Pittsburgh, began his musical education at Hampton, and continued it at the Oberlin Conservatory, and the Hubbard Studios in Boston.

In the fall of 1930, with only a few dollars and some letters of introduction, he travelled to Vienna, where he studied under a former teacher of Roland Hayes. That this teaching was invaluable was proved by the unanimous praise of Vienna's musical critics after his debut there in November, 1931. This baritone "sings German lieder with insight and taste," said one, and another stated, "His technical knowledge is perfect . . . he discloses himself to be a genuine artist deserving the highest praise."

Later concerts in Salzburg and Berlin were equally successful. This was before Hitler's ascendancy in Berlin but in Salzburg the Austrian Nazis tried to prevent his concert, saying that a Negro was "taking bread from the mouths of German artists." Adequate police protection was provided, and the concert was given and loudly applauded. One Berlin critic went so far as to say, "When one hears this black gentleman sing, one is compelled to believe he must have imbibed German

(See page 248)

William D. Pettus
M.D.
Meharry Medical

Marie Joe Browne
The Ruth Draper of the Race
Monologuist

Joseph C. Chapman
M.S.
Northwestern

Geraldine Bennett
M.A.
Columbia

Nick Aaron Ford
M.A.
University of Iowa

DuBois and Segregation

By J. B. WATSON

These two articles on segregation were contributed to THE CRISIS *during the time Dr. DuBois was editing the magazine. They are being printed out of deference to the contributors.*

IN his youth Dr. DuBois had a dream. Through Fisk, in Harvard graduate school and abroad he dreamed that his people should have stripped from them the numerous fetters that bound them tight. By the time he was employed to teach at Wilberforce and at Atlanta University the dream had become an obsession.

In middle life DuBois abandoned himself and all he possessed to the realization of his dream. With the press, on the platform, from "the housetops" he cried aloud, "let them go; take your feet off their necks." His passion has been a consuming fire. He has fought under difficulties. Rebuttals and ostracisms have met him on every hand. Poverty stalked his path and his little single-handed efforts, one after the other, went down. I can hear now the hilarious gibes that went up from some quarters when his little papers, "The Horizon" and "The Moon", failed. "The moon has gone down", they jeered. But through all, he has asked no quarter and given none. He has fought Jim Crow, segregation, peonage, lynching, poor schools, disfranchisement, and all. Not an incident—not a wrong against his people has escaped his vigil.

And, with it all, and in spite of his faults and mistakes, his sincerity was never doubted, and his fortitude has been the marvel of friend and foe. He has been constant.

In his latter sixties DuBois has taken stock. In viewing his accomplishments and those of the N.A.A.C.P. in a quarter century he is seeing the following stubborn facts:

1. Segregation has grown apace all over the country. Separate high schools are a fact in several large Northern cities. Separate grade schools have spread all over New Jersey, parts of Pennsylvania, the Mid-West, and New York (including segregated Harlem). The Negro students in the Universities of Kansas, Indiana and Ohio are not allowed to swim in the swimming pools. In most of the country, East and West, Negroes cannot participate freely in extra-curricular activities of the college. This is especially true as to Negro women.

Theatres all over the country are closed tighter than ever. Twenty years ago I bought tickets to the theatres in Washington; I cannot do so now. Hotels in the North are now more emphatic than ever in saying *no*. Separation in public carriers and public places is more fixed than ever.

2. While lynchings have decreased some, the lynching mob is much bolder than ever. The decrease in lynchings clearly is not from any fear of the law, but from a change in public sentiment due to other causes than the courts.

3. The Negro's franchise status is improved very little.

4. The Negro's common schools are no better supported in the country districts where the masses live.

5. The Negro is materially poorer than in twenty-five years; and, in the rural South, his plight is right now more acute than at any time in forty years.

6. The large bulk of Negro business of which we once boasted is on the scrap heap.

That is, after beating his raw and bleeding pinions against the bars of his cage for nigh unto forty years, DuBois sees those bars but little ajar in many respects and in some respects still impregnable. Many of the forces against which he has contended are more subtle in their determination than ever before.

One notable mistake Dr. DuBois has made has been to forget that great battles and lasting victories are won with strategy as well as with bullets and more so. He has scorned strategy and compromise. The N.A.A.C.P. has scorned to be clever, shrewd or even resourceful. Everytime they go into battle they send trumpeters ahead to announce the road they are coming in on, size of their bullets and the length of their sabers. Too good a sport to stalk their game they go into every chase a-beating the bushes and blowing horns.

So, when DuBois decides to mix a little cunning in his generalship, his verbose and loquacious critics cry, "No". I should not be surprised if his white associates should come to see eye to eye with him. We Negroes are not strategists; our heads have not been bruised enough, not even yet.

DuBois has tried to free his people with a defensive fight. It seems he has discovered that games are not won on the defense but on the offense. But when he seeks to get his team behind closed gates for a little secret practice they call him a quitter—a quitter because he decides on a maneuver by which to reach his end more surely and quickly.

DuBois now seems to see that he must concentrate for a while on his own crowd to get them organized for *their own defense;* and, to do this, he must have them to themselves as much as possible; he sees that some of the strongest chains he has been trying to strip from his people are of their own weave and perpetuation.

He is right. Economically the Negro is better off to himself. He cannot compete with these people who have a thousand years the jump on him, all other things being equal. Also the Negro business man sells only to Negroes, as a rule, while his competitor sells to everyone in the mixed community. A hundred Negro farmers concentrated can have their own gin and country stores and can have a chance, *in peace,* to gain experiences and grow.

Much of the precious time spent abusing the white people could be well spent on us vacillating Negroes. If the American white people have exploited the Negro they have only run true to form. Since we have known this carnal world, the strong have always made a little extra change by exploiting the fellow who *can not help himself* whether he was white or black. It is not so much a matter of hate as it is of greed, that disease which attacks all mankind. The strong Negro often lords it over his little brother and takes unearned toll out of him.

Finally the hope for any restrained or disadvantaged people is to be trained into a position of intelligent self-defense and self-promotion. "None can forever foil the thrusts aimed at his friend". Any group of people so completely a separate unit as we are must unify, verily.

May I say in passing, if we are going to insist on this constant, bitter verbal assault on the white South it is all the more apparent to me that the Negro should be carried away to himself as far as possible; for it is he who innocently pays the fiddler first or last.

The Jews fought a thousand years against their ghetto but finally accepted it with the vow that they would take into it their courage, self-respect and every ounce of Europe's little remaining gold they could get their hands on. When William Elector of the House of Hesse asked Mayer Rothschild to be Court Jew, he accepted with the understanding that he would not move out of the ghetto and leave his people there. Such fidelity we do not yet know. We have not got far enough into our ghetto to learn how to "love one another" so much. But it was not the love of race alone that welded this attachment to the walled in portion of Frankfort. He had accumulated a million dollars of gold in there and was making money. England stole a march on the other countries when she invited Rothschild to come to London and build a bank. The scourge

and plunder of Napoleon had reduced all Europe to poverty. England needed money. She suppressed the "Merchant of Venice" and invited Rothschild out of his ghetto.

Mayer Rothschild and all of his sons lived to see all the countries of Europe, one after the other, on bended knees, with suppliant hands, before their bank. We differ from the Jews in two main essentials. We lack, as all the rest of mankind, their deep, spiritual insight and their mental foresight. Hitler has not the intelligence to get a simple lesson from history. I wonder if we have?

DuBois would not quit the defense but he would also build a strong offense. He still shows himself the master of us all. He is the first to read the weather vane and to shift his sails for another tack, always making for the same goal. May God bless him!

Segregation

By FERDINAND Q. MORTON

I HAVE just read your articles on segregation. Upon reading them my first impression was that the close view which you recently have had of the poverty and suffering among our people in the South had deeply affected you. I know the intensity of the love which you bear for your race; and I can understand and sympathize with the emotion, rekindled in you against the hideous injustice of race discrimination—the major cause of this suffering and want. Not I alone, but, as I believe, a majority of the intelligent people of our race are in close sympathy not with your point of view, perhaps, but with the sentiment that prompted you to adopt it. You may be assured that your place in our admiration and esteem is secure—just as secure as is the place in history which your extraordinary services to your race and your country have won for you.

In effect, you propose that we cease to direct our major effort at breaking down the barriers of segregation, and concentrate our energies merely upon making life as comfortable as possible behind the barriers. You propose that we accept as permanent the social status resulting from segregation and apply ourselves to the task of institutionalizing that status in its entirety, with the purpose of achieving, as nearly as possible, complete separation, or at least, economic and social separation equal in measure to the social separation enforced against us by the majority. You propose that we surrender the line of battle, in the forefront of which you for years so gallantly stood, and retreat to a narrower front. These proposals you base upon the premise that the majority decree by which we are segregated is an unalterable one. You assert that in no substantial measure has racial prejudice against us relaxed; that the future holds no hope for equality of opportunity and the integral participation by us in the life of our country; and that we shall remain perpetually a proscribed group.

I reject your proposals and challenge your premises. I reject your proposals, first, for the reason that economic separation is impracticable. We are a laboring people. We have little to sell except the work of our hands, and, since we cannot find a market for it among our own group, we must of necessity market it among the majority group. A separate existence behind the barriers cannot be achieved when every morning we must go outside of them to earn a livelihood. The establishment of industrial and commercial organizations upon the scale proposed by you requires capital far in excess of that which we control or could reasonably hope to control.

Your proposals are unsound in principle. The Negro always and under every condition should resist segregation in every form. Its ultimate destruction should never cease to be his major objective. He should never voluntarily accept and institutionalize the status resulting from segregation except where sheer necessity compels him to do so—and then only under continued protest. Without separate institutions, the status which the majority has assigned to us cannot be maintained. No social status can exist unless it is institutionalized.

Every separate institution, therefore, undeniably tends to perpetuate our present status. Other than the home the only separate major institution which the Negro voluntarily should establish, or maintain and support, are those that are absolutely indispensable to his religious, moral and intellectual welfare—churches and schools in the South. The only separate minor institutions or organizations which we should build, or maintain and support, are those that serve our daily needs and those that are designed for the achievement of our major objective—the demolishing of all racial barriers.

The adoption of your proposals would retard immeasurably our advance toward our major objective because of the evil psychological effects that would follow—effects comparable to those that would have followed the adoption of a certain course of action advocated by Booker T. Washington a generation ago. I confess that I am unable clearly to distinguish your proposals from certain of those put forward by him. The withdrawal to ourselves behind the barriers of segregation, as you propose, inevitably would be construed both by the Negro himself and by the majority group, not as the enforced or involuntary acceptance by us of an inferior status from which there is no immediate hope of escape; but as the voluntary submission on our part to the decree of segregation, and the acceptance by us of all the false implications of inferiority which that decree carries with it.

The victim of wrong and depression need not bow his head in shame as long as he resists with all the force at his command. Shame lies in submission. Even the appearance of submission we must at all hazards avoid. You refer to the duty that rests upon the "uplifted classes" of our group. Certainly they bear a heavy responsibility. Their primary duty, however, is to reveal by the things they achieve the utter absurdity of the pretense of inherent racial superiority made by the majority group, and to keep alive in the Negro an indomitable spirit of resistance.

You advocate withdrawal behind the barriers because members of the majority group, to quote you, "refuse to treat me like a man". That psychological reaction is precisely the thing that must be discouraged in our youth. Its further development in them will be fatal to our cause. We must teach them that such a reaction implies some consciousness of racial inferiority. We must teach them to view this question impersonally; for the ability so to view it is the most definite indication of a lack of consciousness of racial inferiority. We are not primarily concerned with the attitude of members of another race toward us. We do not seek racial integration. We do not seek even association with the majority group as an end and merely for the sake of association. That which we do seek is the common use of our country's institutions. We contend against no race. But without malice, hatred, fear or envy for any, and without regard to any question of race whatsoever, we contend for our rights as American citizens. As American citizens we are entitled to the full, free and untrammeled use of every single institution in America. We will not build separate institutions for our exclusive use when our country's institutions are our birthright. There is not one which we have not helped to establish. For our toil has helped to build this country, our valor to defend it and our souls to make its culture.

Even if I shared with you the belief that the future was hopeless, I should,

nevertheless, reject your proposals; but the future is not hopeless; the barriers of segregation are not indestructible. Slowly but steadily race prejudice in America grows weaker and the status of the Negro improves. Evidence of this fact is to be found on every hand. A generation ago the prediction was widely made that the migration of the Negro from the South and his settlement in any considerable numbers in other sections of the country would immediately create in those sections a condition parallel to that existing in the South. That prediction has been proved false. In less than 20 years more than 2 million Negroes have left the South and made their homes in the North and West. The Negro population of many of our large cities has in some cases been augmented by tens of thousands. It is not to be denied that these settlers have encountered in their new homes in many cases race prejudice and discrimination as violent as that from which they sought escape. On the other hand, it is not to be denied that practically every community extended to them the equal protection of the laws, wider economic opportunity, educational facilities for their children and political equality and civic recognition. Throughout these sections of the country, the number of Negroes holding representative public office and seats in Legislatures is every year increasing. The right of the Negro to enter civil service is being more and more widely enforced. In the colleges and universities of these sections, the number of Negro students is likewise increasing. They participate in athletic competition, both intra-mural and intercollegiate upon terms of equality. Less than two years ago, the entire nation gave enthusiastic acclaim to a colored boy who won the sprints in the Olympic games. Negro writers, artists and actors are steadily increasing in number and their work is being accepted and judged by its merits. The attitude of the American Federation of Labor and labor unions generally toward the Negro is fast becoming more liberal. In the city of New York, less than 25 years ago, race riots were not uncommon but the Negro enjoys here today substantial, political and civic equality. All these things are but the objective manifestations of a growing liberality of thought and sentiment on the part of the nation toward the Negro. This thought and sentiment is as yet unorganized and quiescent or negative; and exists, of course, in varying degrees of shade and intensity. Let it not be said that this is a defense of wrong and injustice. It is merely a simple and fair statement of fact. None condemns more severely than I do those high in the councils of the nation and those who wield powerful influence upon public sentiment for their callous indifference upon this question, and for their inexcusable failure to take a forthright position upon the subject of the nation's duty toward its Negro citizens. The attitude of the average American on this subject is far more liberal than governmental policies or the pronouncements of the nation's leaders.

DR. DUBOIS RESIGNS

The full text of his letter and the resolution of the N.A.A.C.P. Board accepting his resignation

THE Board of Directors of the National Association for the advancement of Colored people at the June meeting took no action upon the resignation of Dr. DuBois, tendered as of June 11, but named a committee to confer with Dr. DuBois and see if some satisfactory settlement of differences could not be arranged.

Under date of June 26, however, Dr. DuBois addressed the following letter to the Board and released it to the press as of July 1, eight days before it came officially to the notice of the Board at its regular meeting July 9:

"In deference to your desire to postpone action on my resignation of June 11, I have allowed my nominal connection with THE CRISIS to extend to July 1, and have meantime entered into communication with the Chairman of the Board, and with your Committee on Reconciliation.

"I appreciate the good will and genuine desire to bridge an awkward break which your action indicated, and yet it is clear to me, and I think to the majority of the Board that under the circumstances my resignation must stand. I owe it, however, to the Board and to the public to make clear at this time the deeper reasons for my action, lest the apparent causes of my resignation seem inadequate.

"Many friends have truthfully asserted that the segregation argument was not the main reason for my wishing to leave this organization. It was an occasion and an important occasion, but it could have been adjusted. In fact, no matter what the Board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People says, its action towards segregation has got to approximate, in the future as in the past, the pattern which it followed in the case of the separate camp for Negro officers during the World War and in the case of the Tuskegee Veterans' Hospital. In both instances, we protested vigorously and to the limit of our ability the segregation policy. Then, when we had failed and knew we had failed, we bent every effort toward making the colored camp at Des Moines the best officers' camp possible, and the Tuskegee Hospital, with its Negro personnel, one of the most efficient in the land. This is shown by the 8th and 14th Annual Reports of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"The only thing, therefore, that remains for us is to decide whether we are openly to recognize this procedure as inevitable, or be silent about it and still pursue it. Under these circumstances, the argument must be more or less academic, but there is no essential reason that those who see different sides of this same shield should not be able to agree to live together in the same house.

"The whole matter assumed, however, a serious aspect when the Board peremptorily forbade all criticism of the officers and policies in THE CRISIS. I had planned to continue constructive criticism of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in THE CRISIS because I firmly believe that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People faces the most gruelling of tests which come to an old organization: founded in a day when a negative program of protest was imperative and effective, it succeeded so well that the program seemed perfect and unlimited. Suddenly, by World War and chaos, we are called to formulate a positive program of construction and inspiration. We have been thus far unable to comply.

"Today this organization, which has been great and effective for nearly a quarter of a century, finds itself in a time of crisis and change, without a program, without effective organization, without executive officers, who have either the ability or disposition to guide the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in the right direction.

"These are harsh and arresting charges. I make them deliberately, and after long thought, earnest effort, and with infinite writhing of spirit. To the very best of my ability, and every ounce of my strength, I have since the beginning of the Great Depression, tried to work inside the organization for its realignment and readjustment to new duties. I have been almost absolutely unsuccessful. My program for economic readjustment has been totally ignored. My demand for a change in personnel has been considered as mere petty jealousy, and my protest against our mistakes and blunders has been looked upon as disloyalty to the organization.

"So long as I sit by quietly consenting, I share responsibility. If I criticize within, my words fall on deaf ears. If I criticize openly, I seem to be washing dirty linen in public. There is but one recourse, complete and final withdrawal, not because all is hopeless nor because there are no signs of realization of the possibilities of reform and of the imperative demand for men and vision, but because evidently I personally can do nothing more.

"I leave behind me in the organization many who have long thought with me, and yet hesitated at action; many persons of large ideals who see no agents at hand to

realize them, and who fear that the dearth of ability and will to sacrifice within this organization, indicates a similar lack within the whole race. I know that both sets of friends are wrong, and while I desert them with deep reluctance, it is distinctly in the hope that the fact of my going may arouse to action and bring a great and gifted race to the rescue, with a re-birth of that fine idealism and devotion that founded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

"Under these circumstances, there is but one thing for me to do, and that is to make the supreme sacrifice of taking myself absolutely and unequivocably out of the picture, so that hereafter the leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, without the distraction of personalities and accumulated animosities, can give their whole thought and attention to the rescuing of the greatest organization for the emancipation of Negroes that America has ever had.

"I am, therefore, insisting upon my resignation, and on July 1st, whether the Board of Directors acts or does not act, I automatically cease to have any connection whatsoever in any shape or form with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. I do not, however, cease to wish it well, to follow it with personal and palpitating interest, and to applaud it when it is able to rescue itself from its present impossible position and reorganize itself according to the demands of the present crisis.

"Very respectfully yours,
("Signed) W. E. B. Du Bois."

At its meeting July 9, the Board adopted the following resolution:

RESOLVED, That it is with the deepest regret that we hereby accept the resignation of Dr. W. E. B. DuBois as editor of the Crisis, as a member of the Board of Directors, as Director of Publications and Research, as a member of the Board of the Crisis Publishing Company, and as a member of the Spingarn Medal Award Committee; and we desire at the same time to record our sense of the loss which his resignation will bring not only to the members of this Board but to every loyal member of the Association.

Dr. Du Bois joined the Association in 1910 as Director of Publications and Research. The Association was then a few months old. He was already a distinguished teacher, scholar and man of letters, Professor of Sociology in Atlanta University, and author of "Souls of Black Folk" and other works which had deeply moved the white world as well as the black. The ideas which he had propounded for a decade were the same ideas that had brought the Association into being.

He founded the Crisis without a cent of capital, and for many years made it completely self-supporting, reaching a maximum monthly circulation at the end of the World War of 106,000. This is an unprecedented achievement in American journalism, and in itself worthy of a distinguished tribute. But the ideas which he propounded in it and in his books and essays transformed the Negro world as well as a large portion of the liberal white world, so that the whole problem of the relation of black and white races has ever since had a completely new orientation. He created, what never existed before, a Negro intelligentsia, and many who have never read a word of his writings are his spiritual disciples and descendants. Without him the Association could never have been what it was and is.

The Board has not always seen eye to eye with him in regard to various matters, and cannot subscribe to some of his criticism of the Association and its officials. But such differences in the past have in no way interfered with his usefulness, but rather the contrary. For he had been selected because of his independence of judgment, his fearlessness in expressing his convictions, and his acute and wide-reaching intelligence. A mere yes-man could not have attracted the attention of the world, could not even have stimulated the Board itself to further study of various important problems. We shall be the poorer for his loss, in intellectual stimulus, and in searching analysis of the vital problems of the American Negro; no one in the Association can fill his place with the same intellectual grasp. We therefore offer him our sincere thanks for the services he has rendered, and we wish him all happiness in all that he may now undertake.

The Browsing Reader

"Six Plays for A Negro Theatre," by S. Randolph Edmonds, Walter H. Baker Co., Boston, 1934.

S. Randolph Edmonds, professor of English at Morgan College, has written "Six Plays for a Negro Theatre."

Much has been written about Negro life, some good, some very bad. A criticism of many characterizations of the Negro is that usually he is shown as a lying, stealing, gin-drinking superstitious, cringing, crap-shooting person. He is usually the servile underdog, whose highest possibilities are those of a low-grade clown. These characterizations are emphasized on stage and screen because these are the popular conceptions, by some folk, of what the Negro really was and is. Mr. Edmonds dissents from this point of view and by so doing points the way to a new horizon in Negro drama. He fully realized that there are some Negroes who may be typified by the descriptive terms above. He believes there are just as many Negroes who have a fuller, deeper appreciation of life values, who have convictions and who are willing to sacrifice their all for those convictions. This is the facet of Negro life which Mr. Edmonds seeks to portray in his "Six Plays for a Negro Theatre."

The plays themselves show deep insight into Negro peasant life. They have atmosphere. The experiences of Mr. Edmonds in lumber camps, on the farm, in factories and the streets of Harlem are depicted in the characters which he created. But through it all the finer threads of life are interwoven. The first impression of "Bad Man" is that Thea Dugger is a hard, brutish, unprincipled animal. However, subsequent events show that Dugger, like the most of us, has something fine under the exterior shell.

"Breeders" is woven around the most tragic theme of the slave era. Death is sweeter to a slave girl, than a life spent in breeding young slaves in a loveless marriage.

"Nat Turner" is an historical play built around the rebel and religious fanatic, Nat Turner. The courage and heroism and broad sympathies of the man give us a peep into the innermost thoughts of many slaves of the early 19th century.

An interesting and tragic conflict between the close-to-the-land Negro and the first generation "New Negro" is shown in "Old Man Pete." The old parents, bred and born in the simple life, close to Nature and the Great Cause, cannot understand the frivolity and superficiality of the young people. Rather than undergo the slurs and denunciations of the children, particularly the in-laws, the old couple wander out on their way back to "Fuginia" and are frozen to death. Rather melodramatic, but effective.

"Bleeding Hearts" shows the hopelessness of the Negro tenant farmer. Held in peonage, sometimes worse than slavery, and experiencing all the hardships of the system, the share-cropper still nurses hope of a fuller, richer life.

"The New Window" is an excellent vehicle for portraying the superstitions of the Negro peasant as well as the sacrificing love of a Negro girl for her mother.

One weakness which may be noted in these plays is that dialect characters are sometimes allowed to shade off into very good English. They fall out of character by using a word or expression which the peasant would hardly have at his command. It is my view that this weakens several of the plays in spots. However, the situation can be overcome and is attributable to the difficulty, on the part of the author, of breaking through good English habits. However, the finished mechanical technique which Mr. Edmonds uses, his inclusiveness of view and his philosophy of life presage a brilliant career as well as lasting contributions to Negro dramatic art.

The foreword for the book was written by Frederick H. Koch, of the University of North Carolina who says, "There is today a dramatic awakening among the young people of our Negro colleges and Universities in the South toward a theatre and drama of their own people. Foremost, perhaps, in this new movement is Randolph Edmonds, teacher of English and dramatic director in Morgan College, Baltimore."

ALONG THE COLOR LINE

MISTER JAMES CROW

Jim-Crow Medical Directory

The American Medical Association is preparing to issue a directory of American physicians designating Negro physicians by having the word "Colored" appear after their names.

Bible School "for White Only"

This summer, the First Presbyterian church in Germantown, Pa., is having a Bible school "For Everyone 4-14 years of age WHITE ONLY. No boy or girl can afford to miss it."

Whites Suffer From Jim-Crow

The high cost of "keeping the races apart" is being paid by unsuspecting white people who travel to and from Haiti and other West Indian islands on the ships of the Colombian line. The officials try very hard to book all colored passengers in tourist class and FORCE all whites into first class, whether they wish to pay the higher fare or not.

Park Dancing Banned

White citizens of Topeka, Kans., were bewildered recently to read where all dancing in city park pavilions had been banned by Commissioner Harry Snyder. Reason: some colored citizens had applied for permits to dance as they had seen whites do. Rather than grant them permits or enforce this clear-cut segregation, city officials denied park dancing to all.

WORK, WASTE AND WEALTH

Chain Store Manager

Joseph Harris has attained the distinction of being the first Negro to be appointed manager of a Daniel Reeves chain store. Patrons may see him at work on Seventh Avenue, between 143rd and 144th Streets, New York.

Marriage License Clerk

Frank R. Chisholm, a veteran of the Spanish-American War and the World War has been appointed clerk in the Brooklyn marriage license bureau.

Pharmacist in Charge

Dr. Edgar D. Gigetts has been placed in complete charge of the Rex Cut Rate drug store, 109 Bloomfield Avenue, Montclair, N. J. This promotion came about because of the increase in colored patrons since Dr. Gigetts first appearance as a clerk and pharmacist and because of his ability and experience.

Kress Store Clerks

Twenty-six colored girls have been added to the payroll of Kress Stores in California. This is the result of a recent "Don't Spend Where You Can't Work" campaign. They receive the same pay as other workers of their classifications.

Salesmen for Ford

The Casewell Motor Company at 2072 Seventh Avenue, New York, has three colored salesmen working on regular schedule selling Ford automobiles.

African Daily Paper

"The Times" of West Africa has been appearing daily and has shown signs of a long and successful life.

Hire Nurses

Four colored nurses have been appointed to assist in the infantile paralysis epidemic in Los Angeles, through the use of FERA funds.

Only Negroes on Labor "Warfront"

The New Orleans *Louisiana Weekly*, after noting that Negro and white longshoremen both acted as pickets along the wharves during the strike there, proceeds to say:

"Whenever there was a fight or an attempt to have workers leave their respective jobs, and the police were called to quell the disturbance, it is surprising to note that there were only Negroes in the melee. If the strike was for the members of both races, we cannot understand why it is that only Negroes were used on the 'warfront'."

No Intermarriage

Six hundred young white Christians holding a conference in Michigan last month discussed the race problem freely and frankly, finally resolving to stand for all kinds of equality and brotherhood, but not for intermarriage of the races.

N.A.A.C.P.

Further contributions to the N.A.A.C.P. 25th Anniversary Penny-a-head fund: *Alabama:* Birmingham Branch, $1.16; Lincoln Normal School, Marion, $1.20. *Arkansas:* A. & M. College, Pine Bluff, $33.02. *California:* Alpha Omega Chapter, A.K.A. Sorority, Los Angeles, $1.30; Santa Monica Branch, $10.30. *Florida:* St. Paul A.M.E. Church, St. Augustine, $5.50; Sampson Lodge No. 2, Jacksonville, $1.25. *Illinois:* Eureka Lodge No. 64, F. & A. M., Chicago, $1.00. *Louisiana:* Wm. S. Ford, Baldwin, $1.51; Augustana Lutheran Church, Alexandria $1.06; Pleasure Seekers Club, Shreveport, $10. *Michigan:* Mothers Star of Hope Club, Ann Arbor, $1.00; Michigan State Federation of Colored Women, Jackson, $2.54; Children of Mr. Pierce C. Murray, Detroit, $0.02. *Minnesota:* Minnehaha Temple No. 129, IBPOEW, Minneapolis, $1.00. *Mississippi:* Rosedale, Colored Welfare Club, $6.60. *Missouri:* Mrs. R. B. Armstrong, St. Joseph, $10.20. *Montana:* Phyllis Wheatley Club, Billings, $1.50. *Nebraska:* Omaha Branch Canister Collection $4.08; Valentine, Nebraska, $0.21. *New Jersey:* Women's Protective League, Orange, $5.; Asbury Park Branch, $40; Atlantic City, $64.50; Alice H. Felts Federation Club, Gouldstown, $3; Orange Branch, $15.35; Menelik Lodge $1, A.F. and A.M., Montclair, $3. *New York:* Dr. and Mrs. E. R. Alexander, N.Y.C., $25; Junior League of New York Branch, $25; John W. Robinson Club, N.Y.C., $1. *North Carolina:* Alpha Zeta Omega Chapter, A.K.A., Durham, $2.50; Durham Branch, $25; Julia Warren, Durham, $2.50. *Ohio:* Solomon Temple Lodge No. 1498, Springfield, $2; Child Study Club, Wilberforce, $1.00; Phyllis Wheatley Women's Club, Wellsville, $4.00. *Oklahoma:* Oklahoma City Branch, $3.11. *Pennsylvania:* Media Branch, $6.00; Omega Omega Chapter, A.K.A., Philadelphia, $6.70; The Lyceum, Philadelphia, $5. *South Carolina:* Citizens of Hartsville (Dr. Geo. W. Johnson) $25; Mrs. Louise Holmes, Florence, $1.00; Eureka Club, Florence $2.00. *Tennessee:* Memphis Branch, $20.32. *Texas:* Watchtower Mutual Life Ins. Co., Houston, $1.00; Bishop College, Marshall, $18.90; El Paso Branch, $18.58. *Virginia:* L. F. Palmer, Newport News, $54.00; Effinger School Fund, Harrisonburg, $2.50; Delta Omega Chapter, Omega Psi Phi, Petersburg, $2.30; B. Jordan, Richmond, canister, $3.91; Southern Aid Society, Richmond, $10; Phyllis Wheatley Y.W.C.A., Richmond, $1.00. *West Virginia:* Zodiac Club, Fairmont, $5.59; Dunbar Junior High School, Welch, $1.00. This list covers March 15 to April 15, inclusive.

Resigns

George W. Streator who has been business manager and one of the managing editors of THE CRISIS since October, 1933, resigned his connections with the publication as of July 15, 1934.

AWARDS

Memorial Playground

A playground located at 47 West 138th Street has been named the Corporal William McCray playground, after one of the first soldiers of the 369th infantry, New York National Guard. McCray was killed overseas while serving under command of the French forces.

Assistant Attorney General

Attorney Darwin W. Teesford has been appointed an assistant attorney general of New York State. He is a graduate of City College of New York and the New York law school.

Boley Thirty Years Old

Boley, Okla., the all-Negro town in the great Southwest, is to celebrate its thirtieth birthday September 22.

CRIME

Alabama Legislation

A bill has been proposed in Alabama to prohibit out-of-town attorneys who are not members of the Alabama bar from conducting cases in the state courts. The proposed legislation is aimed at attorneys in the Scottsboro case.

Turnabout Is Fair Play

Commenting editorially on the lynching in Kirbyville, Tex., June 21, the Carthage (Mo.) *Press* declares:

"American Negroes are angered by the lynching of a colored man in Texas because he associated with a white woman. They say that equality of justice would seem to demand that white men who associate with Negro women should be lynched also. That is not a bad idea, assuming that we are to have hangings on racial grounds."

The Crisis

List of

AVAILABLE BACK NUMBERS

Year	*Price Per Copy*	*Remarks*
1911.....	$0.50	February issue not available.
1912.....	.50	March issue not available.
1913.....	.50	– –
1914.....	.50	– –
1915.....	.50	March and April issues not available.
1916.....	.50	– –
1917.....	.50	July, Sept., and Oct. issues not available.
1918.....	.50	– –
1919.....	.50	Jan., Feb. and May issues not available.
1920.....	.50	– –
1921.....	.50	– –
1922.....	.50	– –
1923.....	.50	– –
1924.....	.50	– –
1925.....	.25	– –
1926.....	.25	May and Sept. issues not available.
1927.....	.25	April and May issues not available.
1928.....	.25	June and July issues not available.
1929.....	.25	Jan., Mar., Oct., Nov. and Dec. issues not available.
1930.....	.15	– –
1931.....	.15	– –
1932.....	.15	– –
1933.....	.15	– –
1934.....	.15	– –

Send stamps or money order to

THE CRISIS

69 Fifth Avenue **New York, N. Y.**

Aubrey C. Pankey

(*Continued from page 242*)

music with his mother's milk. Many a European might envy him his profound understanding of Schubert . . . What a glorious piano, perfectly clear pronunciation, infallibly correct phrasing!" (*Berliner Börsenzeitung.*)

After a number of engagements in London, and a long period of study and singing in Paris. Pankey gave this spring a series of concerts in Oslo and Stockholm. Marion Anderson was also enthusiastically received in Stockholm at about the same time. At a large reception given by a Swedish baron before Pankey's first Stockholm concert, well-known actors, authors and members of the Swedish nobility were presented to him. At the close of the concert the audience broke the usual reserve by calling out, "We want more!" One Stockholm critic wrote, "He has a fresh, dark, warm baritone, a calm and sympathetic presentation, and a fine understanding of the lyric."

In Oslo also, according to the *Dagbladet*, "Aubrey Pankey had a great and well-deserved success. Schubert and Strauss were sung with genuine feeling and warmness of tone. His Negro spirituals were truly enchanting."

Negro Police Officers in Los Angeles

(*Continued from page 242*)

in at least one position just a little above the rank and file. Not so in the Los Angeles police department. Of the twelve or fourteen inside positions, such as clerks, jailers, etc., filled by ordinary policemen at the Newton street, where at least seventy-five per cent of the business transacted affects Negro citizens, and despite the fact that it is the only place where a Negro police officer could possibly work on an inside job without attracting unusual attention, not one position is filled by a Negro. In the detective bureau of this same division, the ratio of whites to Negroes is nearly three to one (16 whites, 6 Negroes). Only last February, under the present city administration which the Negroes voted for solidly, two Negro patrolmen were removed from the detective bureau and were replaced by white officers. It is within the power of the chief (a Texan) to change this situation, but he has not seen fit to do so.

Despite the discriminatory practices from which the Negro police officer suffers, his record is not one of which to be ashamed. Although crimes in which Negroes are principals, and this is the type handled by Negroes, do not receive the widespread publicity as do other crimes, they present just as difficult problems, and are oftimes quite as baffling and perplexing as those in which other races are involved. Negro officers are not receiving recognition commensurate with their capabilities and efforts, but they are working and patiently awaiting the day when some chief will adopt the motto of Napoleon, "—reward talent, merit, and services—."